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BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL, JUNE 17, 1775

LOSSING'S
HISTORY of the UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

FROM THE ABORIGINAL TIMES
TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

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*Author of "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," "Cyclopedia of United States History,"
"Field Book of the War of 1812"*

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From the original painting by H. A. Ogden

MCCLELLAN AT THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM SEPTEMBER 17, 1862



CHAPTER LXXI.

Washington's Army at Morristown in Winter-Quarters—His Achievements—The British in New Jersey—Change in Public Sentiment—The Congress Returns to Philadelphia—State Supremacy Asserted—The Congress and the British Parliament—Spirit of the British Government and the American People—Brant and Indian Allies—The Ministerial Plan—Aggressive Movements—State of Public Affairs—Schuyler and Gates—Will of the King—Military Operations in New Jersey—Both Armies Move toward Philadelphia—Lafayette and Other Foreign Officers.

WHEN Cornwallis was assured of Washington's escape and heard his cannon at Princeton, he was alarmed for the safety of his stores at New Brunswick, and immediately began a rapid pursuit. Had the republican troops been fresh, no doubt the British stores on the Raritan would have been a part of Washington's spoils of victory; but they were worn down with the fatigues of two days' hard service; lack of sleep and food; a night march of ten miles in bitter cold, many of the men barefooted and thinly clad, and the excitement of a battle. They could do very little more without rest and refreshment; and when Washington found his enemy close upon him, he pursued the fugitive British regiments only as far as the Millstone River at Kingston (about three miles), where he crossed that stream, broke down the bridge behind him, and rested at Somerset Court-House that night.

Cornwallis had pursued so swiftly, that he reached Princeton just as Washington left it. There he was confronted by a thirty-two pound cannon, whose vigorous discharges by the skillful American artillerists, made the British leader believe the republicans were about to make a stand and give battle. He halted, and wasted so much time in reconnoitering that Washington was allowed to escape. Believing his foe was pressing on toward New Brunswick, Cornwallis continued the pursuit, crossing the Millstone at Kingston after reconstructing the bridge. There Washington had turned toward the hill country around Morristown, by way of a narrow road by Rocky Hill; but Cornwallis, suspecting he was on the march toward New Brunswick, hastened forward over the rough highway, and arrived there at sunset, where he found his stores all safe, and not a republican soldier near. Washington marched to Morristown, where he put his army into winter-quarters.

The American commander had now achieved a mighty victory. Viewed in all its varied aspects, Frederick the Great of Prussia declared the exploits of the Patriot and his handful of followers, between Christmas and Twelfth Day, the most brilliant of any recorded in the annals of military achievements. At the very moment when his army appeared to be on the verge of dissolution, Washington struck a blow so powerful that it paralyzed the enemy. It broke up the British and Hessian cantonments upon the Delaware, and made Cornwallis anxious to secure quarters nearer New York, under the protection of General Howe. It caused Howe to recall a brigade from Rhode Island to strengthen his force at New York; and it was not long before the British were driven to near the sea-shores of New Jersey, and held posts only at New Brunswick, Amboy, and Paulus Hook (now Jersey City), for Washington, with his army encamped in huts at Morristown, was not idle. He had established cantonments from Princeton on the right, under the command of General Putnam, to the Hudson Highlands on the left, under General Heath. He was in the midst of hills, a fertile country teeming with abundance, and generally patriotic inhabitants. His little expeditions sent out to harass the enemy were conducted with so much spirit, that the British were kept in continual dread. The people were thereby encouraged; their martial spirit seemed to revive, and early in the spring of 1777, the thinned battalions of the army began to fill up.

The Continental Congress, which had fled to Baltimore, satisfied that immediate danger was past, returned to Philadelphia early in March, and resumed their sessions there. And the people of New Jersey, of whom not more than a hundred had joined Washington in his retreat from the Hudson to the Delaware, and who, to the number of almost three thousand, had subscribed to a declaration of fidelity to the king, seeing the changed aspect of affairs, and having suffered dreadfully from the unbridled passions of the British and Hessian soldiers exercised on friend and foe alike, now became active partisans of the republican cause. A feeling of revenge gave strength to their purpose and arms. Their action was doubtless accelerated by a proclamation of Washington issued late in January, who, in the exercise of the discretion given him by Congress, demanded, in the name of the associated States, that all who had taken British protection, and professed fidelity to the crown, should take an oath of allegiance to the United States of America, or withdraw within the British lines.

The Legislature of New Jersey, regarding the proclamation as a violation of State supremacy,—a doctrine that was the bane of our national life down to the Civil War—censured the commander-in-chief. A few members of Congress, possessing less sagacity and political wisdom than Washington,

joined in the censure, and seemed ready to deprive him of all power. When a proposition was made to give him authority to name his generals, John Adams said: "In private life, I am willing to respect and look up to him; in this House, I feel myself to be the superior of General Washington." By a bare majority, the Congress, after failing to furnish reinforcements for Washington's army, expressed their earnest desire that he could "not only curb and confine the enemy within their present quarters, but, by divine blessing, totally subdue them before they could be reinforced." This seemed like insulting irony, when we consider that Washington then had less than three thousand effective men at his command in New Jersey.

The apathy and folly of the British monarch and ministers, at this time, were astonishing to men who perceived the gravity of public affairs through the medium of events in America. They were in strong contrast with the energy and wisdom of the managers of American affairs at home and abroad. A British army had been driven from Boston; a British fleet had been expelled from Charleston harbor; the colonies had declared their independence, and full thirty thousand British and German troops had been defied and combated; and yet the Parliament did not meet until the close of October (1776) to consider these things. Then the king, in his speech, congratulated the legislature upon the success of the royal troops in America, and assured them, without the shadow of a good reason, that most of the Continental powers entertained friendly feelings toward Great Britain. After rejecting every conciliatory proposition, and voting men and supplies for the united service in America, Parliament adjourned to keep the Christmas holidays with an apparent feeling that their votes had crushed the trans-Atlantic rebellion. At that moment Washington was planning his brilliant achievements in person.

Meanwhile the American Congress had held a perpetual session. They knew that the European powers had no *real* friendship for haughty Britain. They knew that France, Spain, the States-General of Holland, the Prince of Orange, Catharine of Russia and Pope Clement, all feared and hated England, and were anxious for a pretence to strike her fiercely and humble her pride, because of her potency in arms, commerce, and diplomacy, and her strong Protestantism. Therefore, as we have seen, the Congress sent Silas Deane to France as a commercial agent in the spring of 1776, to procure army supplies, and in the autumn appointed Dr. Franklin and Arthur Lee joint commissioners with Deane for the same purpose. The latter had already procured arms from the French arsenals, and abundant promises of men and money from the French minister, Vergennes. The British ambassador to the French court (Lord Stormont) treated the Com-

missioners with contempt. When they asked him to make an arrangement for the exchange of captive seamen, he was silent. When the request was repeated, he answered: "The King's ambassador receives no applications from rebels unless they come to implore his Majesty's mercy." This was then the spirit of the British *government*; the spirit of the American *people* at the same time was displayed by the answer of Nathan Coffin, an American seaman, when he was threatened, to induce him to enlist in the royal navy:

"Hang me, if you will, to the yard-arm of your ship, but do not ask me to become a traitor to my country."

At the beginning of 1777, the British government prepared for crushing the rebellion early in the ensuing campaign. Reinforcements to the number of more than thirty-five hundred were procured from the German princes, and these, with a considerable British force, were sent to strengthen Howe below the Highlands, and Burgoyne in Canada. Governor Tryon was employed in embodying the American Tories into military battalions under Brigadier-Generals Oliver, De Lancey of New York, and Cortlandt Skinner of New Jersey. Many French Canadians joined the British forces on the Canadian frontier; and under the special instructions of Germain, the Colonial Secretary, which he had received from the king, bands of Indian savages were engaged to fight the republicans, the most



BRANT.
(From a Picture by Romney.)

of them under the general command of Joseph Brant, a Mohawk chief, a brother-in-law of Sir William Johnson, and who had been educated by the white people. He had lately returned from England, where he had conferred with the king and Germain, and been well received by the aristocracy. At court he appeared in the splendid costume of his nation (in which Romney painted him), and wearing a highly-polished and ornamented tomahawk in his belt. There he decided to espouse the cause of the crown. He did so, and served the king faithfully and vigorously. The best of the British leaders in America were opposed to employing the savages in their armies; but it was a pet project of Tryon, the king and his pliant ministers, who seem to have listened complacently to La Corne St. Luc, a bitter partisan, who said: "We must let loose the savages upon the frontiers of these

scoundrels, to inspire terror, and to make them submit." Tryon, who was noted for his brutal inhumanity, strongly commended La Corne to the Secretary as a leader of the savages, and wrote to Germain, in the spring of 1777: "We [La Corne and himself] agree perfectly in sentiments respecting the propriety and importance of employing the Indians." He said La Corne had pledged his honor and his life that he would raise a corps of Canadians and savages, and "be in the environs of Albany in sixty days after he landed in Quebec." "Every means that Providence has placed in our hands ought to be employed against the rebels," said the king and his ministers.

It had been determined in the British cabinet to attempt to divide the colonies by seizing the region of Lake Champlain and the Hudson River during the approaching campaign. The Indians were to spread terror over Northern New York by their atrocities, and so open an easy way to the Hudson River and to Albany for British troops from Canada. An expedition composed of regulars, Canadians and Indians, under the command of Colonel St. Leger, was ordered to cross Lake Ontario, land at Oswego, penetrate and devastate the Mohawk Valley, and join the victorious troops that might sweep down from the north into the valley of the Upper Hudson. At the same time a British army was to ascend the Hudson, seize the fortifications in the Highlands, waste the country above in case of resistance, and so accomplish the great design of the campaign of 1777. For that purpose a large army was gathered at near the foot of Lake Champlain, under General Sir John Burgoyne, early in the summer of 1777.

It was late in May before the armies of Washington and Howe were put in motion for the summer campaign. The latter was delayed because of a lack of reinforcements. He had asked for an addition of fifteen thousand men. Germain, believing the rebellion might be stamped out with a much less number of troops than Howe required, wrote to him that not half that number could be sent. Howe was discouraged, and early in April he wrote to the Secretary that his army was too weak for rapid offensive operations. "Restricted as I am by a want of forces," he wrote, "my hopes of terminating the war this year are vanished." He also informed the Secretary and Governor Carleton that he could give very little assistance to the army that was to advance from Canada: and he proposed to evacuate New Jersey and invade Pennsylvania by way of the sea. But Germain, erroneously calculating that Howe had thirty-five thousand men, and counting largely upon the help of the savages and Tories, deceived himself and the British people with a belief that the end of the impending campaign would be coeval with that of the rebellion.

While the two armies were preparing to move, detachments from each

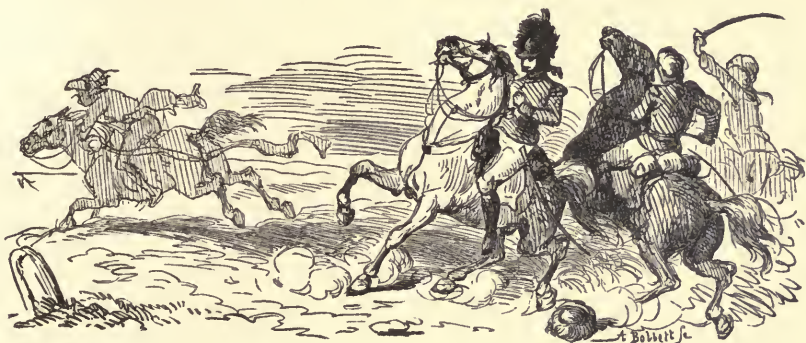
were striking offensive blows here and there. The British sent a strong force up the Hudson River late in April to destroy American stores at Peekskill, at the lower entrance to the Highlands. General McDougall was in command there, but his force was too weak to defend the property. So he burned it, and retreated to the hills in the rear. At near the middle of April, Cornwallis marched up the Raritan with a considerable force from New Brunswick, to surprise the Americans at Bound Brook, under General Lincoln. The latter escaped with difficulty, and with a loss of about sixty men and a part of his baggage.

Toward the close of April, Governor Tryon, with almost two thousand British and Tories, sailed up the East River and Long Island Sound, from New York, landed on the Connecticut shore at Compo, between Fairfield and Norwalk, and proceeded toward Danbury, where the Americans had gathered a large quantity of stores. He was accompanied by Generals Agnew and Erskine. They reached the town on the 25th of April (1777), destroyed the stores, burned the village, and cruelly treated some of the inhabitants. The militia of the neighborhood flew to arms in large numbers, under the leadership of Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman. Perceiving this, and fearing his retreat might be cut off, Tryon retreated to Ridgefield. Near that village a sharp skirmish ensued, in which Wooster was killed and Arnold narrowly escaped capture. His horse was shot dead under him. Arnold could not extricate his foot from the stirrup, and fell with the animal. Seeing this, a Tory ran forward, with his bayonet at a charge, exclaiming, "Surrender! you are my prisoner!" "Not yet!" shouted Arnold, as his foot became free at that moment, and he sprang to his feet. Drawing his pistol, he shot the Tory dead, and flying swiftly on foot to a dense swamp near by, followed by many British bullets, he escaped unhurt. For his gallantry on that occasion, the Continental Congress ordered a horse, richly caparisoned, to be presented to Arnold. Tryon spent the night in the neighborhood, and the next morning hastened to his ships, annoyed all the way by the gathering militia. At the place of re-embarkation, his troops were fearfully galled by cannon-shot from a battery of Lamb's artillery managed by Lieutenant-Colonel Oswald. They had already skirmished severely at a bridge; and they escaped a final capture, only by the good offices of Erskine at the head of the marines who were landed from the vessels, and who beat back the wearied Americans. About sunset the fleet departed. The Americans had lost during the invasion about one hundred men, and the enemy about three hundred. Tryon's atrocities on that occasion were never forgotten nor forgiven by the sufferers.

It is related that when the British approached Danbury, an old citizen

resolved to save a piece of cloth which was at a clothier's at the south end of the village. He had just mounted his horse with it, when the British advanced-guard approached. Three light-horsemen started in pursuit. The old man's animal was not so fleet as theirs. Drawing near to him, one of the troopers cried out, "Stop, old Daddy, stop! We'll have you!" "Not yet!" cried the citizen. At that moment his roll of cloth unfolded, and fluttering like a streamer behind him, so frightened the pursuing horses that he got several rods ahead, and escaped.

The Americans, also, spurred by resentment, took similar aggressive action. Late in May, Colonel Meigs crossed Long Island Sound from Guilford, Connecticut, with one hundred and seventy men in whale-boats, and



ESCAPE OF A CITIZEN OF DANBURY.

at two o'clock in the morning of the 23d, attacked a British provision-post at Sag Harbor, at the eastern end of Long Island. They burned a dozen vessels; also stores and their contents; made ninety men prisoners, and with these reached Guilford the next day at a little past noon, without losing a man. For this exploit, the Congress voted thanks to Colonel Meigs and his men, and a sword to the commander.

A little later a bolder exploit was performed in Rhode Island. General Prescott, the officer who so cruelly treated Ethan Allen at Montreal, was in command of the British troops there. He was a petty tyrant, and was detested by the people. His headquarters were at a farm-house a few miles from Newport, that belonged to a Friend. It was near the shore of Narraganset Bay. Many of the inhabitants had earnestly desired his removal, and Lieutenant-Colonel Barton of Providence resolved to attempt the perilous task of carrying him away. With a few picked men, he crossed the Bay from Warwick Point, in four whale-boats, passed unobserved through

the British guard-boats with muffled oars on a warm night (the 10th of July), and landed near the general's quarters without discovery. The colonel and a part of his men walked silently up to the house, seized the musket of a sentinel at the gate and threatened him with death if he should make any noise, and entered the dwelling. The owner sat reading. It was late, and all others of the household had retired. To Barton's inquiry for Prescott's room, the Friend pointed upward. Barton went up the stairs silently, followed by a powerful negro. The general's bedroom door was locked. The negro, making a battering-ram of his head, burst it open at the first effort. Prescott sprang from his bed to find himself a prisoner. Without allowing him to dress, his captors took him to a boat, his perfect silence being his guarantee of personal safety. At midnight they landed on the Warwick shore. The general was taken in a close carriage to Providence, and was sent to the headquarters of Washington, in New Jersey, where he was afterward exchanged for General Charles Lee. For this exploit, Congress voted an elegant sword for Barton, and commissioned him a colonel in the Continental Army.

During the winter and spring of 1777, Washington's mind was filled with anxiety concerning the future. The Congress was weak, for the jealousy of the States paralyzed their executive power. Faction was disturbing their councils. There was discontent in the army because inefficient foreign officers were, it was supposed, about to be put in high military positions; also because a few like Gates could not bear to serve in subordinate stations. That intriguing officer, like Lee, exerted a baneful influence continually. Aided by the New England delegation, with Samuel Adams at the head of the faction, he had supplanted General Schuyler, the most trusted and best beloved by Washington of all his generals. But his triumph was short. The baseness of his insinuations against the character of Schuyler were exposed by a committee of the Congress and, superseded in April, the latter was reinstated in May with larger discretionary powers. Gates, angry and insubordinate, refused to serve under Schuyler; and, without leave, he left the army and hastened to Philadelphia to demand redress. By falsehood he obtained admission to the floor of Congress, and the privilege of making a verbal communication. There he made an exhibition of impertinence, malice, folly and unmanliness, that disgusted all but his New England friends, who supported him in further intrigues, as we shall observe presently. Samuel Adams and some others had resolved to make Gates the commander-in-chief of the Northern Department, and worked assiduously for that purpose; and while they were swaying Congress in favor of this weak man, who was doing nothing but boasting, they were unjustly demand-

ing of Washington vigorous aggressive movements against the enemy, with so few troops that failure would have been a certain result. They reproached him with slowness; and intimations were thrown out that Gates was "the life and soul of the army." Washington bore this injustice with patience and obedience, for he was an unselfish patriot.

When the king heard of the disasters to the British arms in New Jersey, his wrath took the form of vindictiveness; and Germain, inspired by his majesty, wrote to General Howe that he must wage a more distressing warfare, so that "through a lively experience of losses and sufferings the rebels might be brought to a sense of their duty." It was intimated that Boston



CAPTURE OF GENERAL PRESCOTT.

and other sea-port towns in flames would be pleasing to the king; but the brothers Howe, more humane than their masters, would not engage in that kind of warfare. They sent word back that it was "not consistent with other operations." Meanwhile the sluggish British commander wasted the months of May and June in idleness at New York, when, with his large army, he might have marched to Philadelphia with very slight opposition; but he had resolved to go to that city by sea, and partly by sea he finally went.

In the meantime, Washington, with an army of about seven thousand five hundred men, composed of forty-three regiments in five divisions of two brigades each, moved from Morristown to the heights of Middlebrook on the borders of the Raritan, and nine miles from New Brunswick. At the latter place Howe assembled about seventeen thousand men, British and Germans, at near the middle of June, with boats and pontoons for crossing the Delaware. At the same time Washington's army had been rapidly increasing. Sullivan was at Princeton with fifteen hundred men. Arnold was posted on the Delaware with a division, and the troops on the Hudson were so concentrated that they might reinforce the main army quickly if required.

Howe's plan (if he had any) seemed to be to bring on a general engagement with the weaker American army. He dared not attack Washington in his stronghold, but tried to draw him out of it. He sent a detachment to attack Sullivan, but so tardy was their movement that the veteran was allowed to escape to the Delaware, pursued only three miles. This and other movements made Washington so vigilant that he was in the saddle almost continually, and his men lay upon their arms at night. On the 19th (June), Howe suddenly retreated to Amboy, and sent some of his troops over to Staten Island, so giving an impression that he was evacuating New Jersey. Washington was fairly deceived, and descending from the heights he gave chase with his whole army. Howe suddenly changed front and attempted to gain the rear of the Americans, but Washington was too quick for him. After a series of sharp skirmishes between New Brunswick and Amboy, without any serious effect on the fortunes of the campaign, the American army resumed their position at Middlebrook. On the 30th of June, the British had entirely evacuated New Jersey, and were encamped on Staten Island, where they afforded protection to a host of Tories, who fled with them from the main.

During these movements, the Congress at Philadelphia and the inhabitants there, were kept in anxious suspense by the expectation that Howe would attempt to capture that city. When they heard of the retreat of the enemy and the rapid increase of Washington's army to almost fourteen thousand men, their spirits revived, and the Congress celebrated the Fourth of July—the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence—much as we celebrate it now, after the lapse of a century. They had a banquet, made speeches, drank to patriotic toasts, rang the bells, fired cannon, had a military procession, a naval display on the Delaware; and in the evening, fireworks, bonfires, and illuminations were displayed. To the vigilance and caution, skill and bravery of Washington, the Congress and the citizens were

indebted for their safety ; and yet they indulged in ungenerous reproaches of the commander-in-chief because he had not done more. Samuel Adams publicly complained of the " Fabian policy " of Washington ; and Gates, who had charmed the New England delegation by his boasting and malicious criticisms, like Lee, scattered firebrands of distrust in the army. But Washington went steadily forward. Referring to these reproaches, he said he had one great object in view, which he should pursue according to the dictates of his own judgment ; and that he was willing to be loaded with all the obloquy they could bestow if he committed a willful error.

Washington now watched the movements of the enemy with more anxiety than ever, for news had reached him of the invasion of Northern New York by Burgoyne. For several days these movements puzzled him. The British troops were embarked in the fleet of Lord Howe. At one time they seemed to be preparing to go up the Hudson River, and Washington made arrangements to oppose them. Finally, on the 24th of July, the fleet and troops left New York Bay and went to sea. Washington believed they were bound for Philadelphia by way of the Delaware, and moved a larger portion of his army toward that river ; but he prudently kept back a reserve to act in case of Howe's return. Until he was assured that Howe had really abandoned Burgoyne, he could not, he wrote, help casting his eyes continually behind him. His suspense was soon ended. On the 31st of July, he received an express from Congress, telling him that two hundred and twenty-eight British vessels had appeared off the Capes of Delaware the day before. Howe had left New York with eighteen thousand troops for Philadelphia ; but for the purpose of increasing his force by the addition of Tories in Maryland and Pennsylvania, where, General Lee had informed him, they abounded, he concluded to go up Chesapeake Bay, and march upon the Continental capital from the south. Washington instantly put a greater portion of his army in motion for that city, where they arrived early in August and encamped at Germantown.

At Philadelphia, Washington was joined by the Marquis de Lafayette, an enthusiastic Frenchman, then less than twenty years of age. He had married, three years before, the daughter of the Duke de Noailles, a beautiful, accomplished, and rich maiden. The story of the wrongs of America, and their struggle for their rights, inflamed his young heart with ardent sympathy and a passionate desire to help them. He openly espoused their cause, and resolved to hasten to their support. Offering his services to the American Commissioners in Paris, he said : " Hitherto I have only *cherished* your cause ; now I am going to *support* it." The women of Paris applauded his noble zeal. The young queen, Marie Antoinette, cheered him with her

good wishes. The king expressed his disapprobation, for he hated republicans. Lafayette's young wife bade him go, for the sympathies of her heart were in unison with his. He went to England, stayed three weeks there, and was presented to the king. He danced at the house of Lord George Germain, and held pleasant social intercourse with civilians and soldiers who were serving against the Americans. On all occasions he frankly expressed his sentiments in favor of the latter, but did not avow his purpose to go to America. Returning to France, he sailed for this country in a ship fitted out at his own expense, accompanied by eleven French and Polish officers who sought employment in the American army. Among them was the Baron de Kalb. Count Pulaski, a gallant Pole, soon followed. The confrère of the latter in the struggle for liberty in Poland, Kosciuszko, had come over the year before, and was then a highly esteemed engineer in the Continental Army.

Lafayette and his friends arrived at Georgetown, in South Carolina, whence they journeyed overland to Philadelphia. He offered his services to the Congress as a volunteer in any capacity and without pay. These terms were so different from those of the other foreign officers that the Congress accepted them, and on the last day of July commissioned him a major-general in the Continental Army. As such he was introduced to Washington at a dinner-party in Philadelphia, when the latter invited the young general to become a member of his military family. The invitation was accepted.

A little before this, a rumor reached the American camp, that Du Coudray, a French officer sent over by the Commissioners, had been appointed by the Congress a major-general in the Continental Army, and was to be placed at the head of the artillery service. Generals Knox, Greene, and Sullivan wrote to the Congress, declaring that such an appointment would compel them to resign their commissions. That body resented this as "an attempt to influence their decisions, an invasion of the liberties of the people, and as indicating a want of confidence in the justice of Congress;" and Washington was instructed to tell the complaining generals that if they were "unwilling to serve their country under the authority of Congress, they were at liberty to resign their commissions, and retire." The rumor was not true; no such appointment had been made. The rebuff which these officers received, prevented a repetition of such an offence.

The Congress did employ some of the French officers as engineers. Du Portail was commissioned a colonel of engineers; Laumoy and Radière, lieutenant-colonels, and Gouvion a major. These proved to be valuable officers, and of essential importance during the war.





NEW YORK CITY
AND
VICINITY

SCALE OF MILES
0 1 2 3 4

Hammond & Co. 11 Map of New York City & Vicinity.
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CHAPTER LXXII.

A British Invasion from Canada with Savage Allies—Ticonderoga Evacuated by the Americans—Battle at Hubbardton—Schuyler Blamed—Weakness of His Army—He Impedes Burgoyne's March—The Story of Jane M'Crea—Disastrous Expedition toward Bennington—Siege of Fort Schuyler—Battle at Oriskany—St. Leger's Flight from Before Fort Schuyler—Gates Supersedes Schuyler—The American Army—Burgoyne Prepares to Advance.

EARLY in May (1777), Burgoyne, who went to England the previous autumn, returned to Quebec, bearing the commission of lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the British forces in Canada. In June, he had gathered about seven thousand men at St. Johns, on the Sorel, for an invasion of the province of New York, with ample supplies, and boats for transportation. His force was composed of British and German regulars, Canadians and Indians. The Germans were commanded by Major-General Baron de Riedesel, and Burgoyne's chief lieutenants were Major-General Phillips and Brigadier-General Fraser.

At dawn, on the morning of the 20th of June, the drums in the camp at St. Johns beat the *generale* instead of the *reveille*, and very soon afterward the army were on the vessels, Burgoyne making an ostentatious display as he entered the schooner *Lady Mary*. The wives of many of the officers accompanied their husbands, for they expected a pleasant journey to New York, Burgoyne having sent word to Howe that he should speedily meet him on the navigable waters of the Hudson. The departure of the fleet was signalized by the Indians, who, having spilled the first blood in the campaign, brought in ten scalps as trophies of their savage warfare. So was begun the execution of the ministerial measure for spreading terror over the land by means of savage atrocities.

Before a fair wind the great armament moved up the lake, with music and banners. At near the mouth of the Raquet River, Burgoyne went on shore and there feasted about four hundred savages, to whom he made a speech, praising them for their fidelity to the king; exhorting them to "strike at the common enemy of their sovereign and America," whom he called "parricides of the State," and forbidding them to kill excepting in

battle, or to take scalps excepting from the dead. This speech he caused to be published. His own commentary on it may be found in a threatening proclamation issued at Crown Point a few days afterward, in which he said: "Let not people consider their distance from my camp. I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction—and they amount to thousands—to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain. If the frenzy of hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and man in executing the vengeance of the State against the willful outcasts."

The whole invading army (a part of it on land) reached Crown Point on the 26th of June, and menaced Ticonderoga, where General St. Clair was in command. The invading force then numbered something less than nine thousand men, with a powerful train of artillery manned by veterans. The garrisons at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence opposite, had an aggregate force of not more than thirty-five hundred men, only one in ten of them possessing a bayonet. Schuyler had too few troops (mostly militia) below to spare a reinforcement for St. Clair, without uncovering points which, left unprotected, might allow the invaders to gain the rear of the lake fortresses. Besides, he was compelled to make provision for meeting St. Leger's invasion of the Mohawk Valley. There were strong outposts around Ticonderoga, but there were not troops enough to man them; and there were eminences that commanded the fort that were left unguarded for the same reason. Between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence was a floating-bridge and boom which the Americans thought might effectually obstruct the passage of the British vessels, but these utterly failed in the hour of need. St. Clair perceived the web of peril that was weaving around him, but he kept up courage, declaring that he would totally defeat the enemy.

At Crown Point, Burgoyne issued a pompous proclamation to the inhabitants of the Upper Hudson Valley, which contained the threat above alluded to. He acted promptly as well as boasted. At the beginning of July he moved from Crown Point upon the upper lake fortresses with his whole army and navy. Riedesel led the Germans on the eastern side to attack the works on Mount Independence, while Phillips and Fraser pressed on to the outworks of Ticonderoga. They seized an eminence that commanded the road to Lake George; also mills in the rear of the fort. This was speedily followed by taking possession of and planting a battery of heavy cannon upon Mount Defiance, where plunging shot might be hurled into Fort Ticonderoga from a point several hundred feet above it. St. Clair, perceiving that the fort was no longer tenable, called a council of war, when

it was resolved to evacuate it. On the evening of the 5th of July, the invalids and convalescents under Colonel Long, with stores and baggage, were sent off in bateaux for Skenesborough (now Whitehall); and at two o'clock on the morning of the 6th, the garrison, having spiked the guns which they could not take with them, silently crossed the floating-bridge to Mount Independence under cover of a brisk cannonade from that eminence. With the garrison there, they began, just before the dawn, a flight through the forests southward to the rugged hills of Vermont. The light of the waning moon was too feeble to reveal their movements, and the Americans hoped to leave their enemies far in their rear before their flight should be discovered. Unfortunately a building on Mount Independence was set on fire, and the light thereof betrayed the flying troops. Pursuit was immediately ordered. Fraser pressed forward with grenadiers and took possession of Ticonderoga, while Riedesel seized and occupied Mount Independence. The former crossed the floating-bridge before sunrise, and with the Germans began a hot pursuit of the fugitive army.

Meanwhile Burgoyne, on board the schooner *Royal George*, ordered his gunboats to pursue the bateaux. The bridge barrier was soon removed, and the British vessels gave chase. They overtook the bateaux at near the landing-place at Skenesborough, and destroyed them and their contents. Colonel Long and his men escaped; and after setting on fire everything combustible at Skenesborough, they fled to Fort Ann, a few miles in the interior, pursued by a British regiment. Near Fort Ann, he turned upon and routed his pursuers, when the latter was reinforced and Long was driven back. He burned Fort Ann, and fled to Fort Edward on the Hudson.

When the army of St. Clair reached Hubbardton, in Vermont, the main body marched through the woods toward Castleton, leaving the rear-guard, under Colonel Seth Warner, one of the brave "Green Mountain Boys," to gather up the stragglers. While awaiting their arrival, Warner was overtaken by the van of the pursuers, on the morning of the 7th, when a sharp engagement took place. Colonel Francis of New Hampshire, who commanded the rear-guard in the flight, was killed. The Americans were dispersed and fled, but about two hundred of them were made prisoners. The pursuers lost almost as many killed and wounded, and gave up the chase. St. Clair, with about two thousand troops, made his way in safety to Fort Edward.

A very large amount of provisions and military stores, and almost two hundred pieces of artillery, were lost by the Americans when they evacuated Ticonderoga. The news of the disaster went over the country, with wildest exaggerations. Generals Schuyler and St. Clair were condemned without

stint and without reason. They had done all that it was possible for men to do under the circumstances. The States as individual communities and by their representatives in Congress had utterly failed to supply the Northern Department with sufficient men to defend it. The Congress had been practically deaf to the repeated calls of Schuyler for reinforcements. He had pointed out the dangers of an impending invasion while his force was too small to stay, or even impede it much. Washington, more wise than the Congress, saw the importance to his own army and the safety of the country in checking the progress of the invaders; and though he was sorely



OBSTRUCTING THE MARCH OF THE BRITISH.

in want of reinforcements coming from New England, he directed that a part of them, when they should reach the Hudson River, should be sent up that stream to assist Schuyler against a powerful foe. The enemies of the commander of the Northern Department, in and out of Congress, took an ungenerous advantage of the public ignorance of the truth, and condemned him as an incompetent. Some went so far as to call him a traitor. After tedious endeavors he procured a trial by a court-martial, who, by their verdict, heartily approved by the Congress, fully vindicated his character in every respect.

Schuyler was at Saratoga when he heard of the disaster. He hastened to Fort Edward to gather there the scattered troops and oppose the further advance of Burgoyne, who, victorious, was boastful and arrogant. In a

proclamation he peremptorily demanded the instant submission of the people. Schuyler immediately issued a counter-proclamation, with excellent effect; but with the remnant of St. Clair's army added to his own force at the middle of July, he had not more than four thousand effective men—a number totally inadequate to combat with the enemy. He employed it simply but effectually, in destroying bridges and felling trees in the pathway of the invader. So impeded, Burgoyne did not reach Fort Edward until the close of July. He was compelled to move cautiously, for Carleton had refused to garrison the lake-forts, and the lieutenant-general was compelled to “drain the life-blood” of his army to defend them. His Indians, too, were beginning to be restless, and some were leaving him.

At Fort Edward occurred the death of Jane McCrea, the story of which, as set afloat at the time, is familiar to all, and was exploded years ago. Truth tells the story as follows: Miss McCrea was a handsome young girl, visiting friends at Fort Edward at the time of Burgoyne's invasion. She was betrothed to a young man living near there, who was then in Burgoyne's army. When that army approached Fort Edward, some prowling Indians seized Miss McCrea, and attempted to carry her to the British camp at Sandy Hill, on horseback. A detachment of Americans were sent to rescue her. One of a volley of bullets fired at her captors, pierced the maiden and she fell dead from the horse, when the Indians scalped her and carried her glossy locks as a trophy into the camp. Her lover, shocked by the event, left the army, went to Canada at the close of the war, and there lived a moody bachelor until he was an old man. He had purchased the scalp of his beloved, of the Indians, and cherished it as a precious treasure, upon which, at times, he would gaze with tearful eyes as he held the ever-shining locks in his hand. The body of Miss McCrea was recovered by her friends, and was buried at Fort Edward. A tale of romance and horror, concerning the manner of her death, went abroad. In September, a letter from Gates to Burgoyne, holding him responsible for her death, gave great currency to the story; and hundreds, perhaps thousands of young men, burning with indignation and a spirit of vengeance because of the outrage, flocked to the American camp.

Schuyler, with his little army, continued to impede the progress of Burgoyne, at the same time falling back, until, in August, he resolved to make a stand at Stillwater, and establish there a fortified camp, for recruits for his force were then coming in freely. The panic caused by the evacuation of Ticonderoga and the invasion was beginning to subside, and a patriotic spirit took its place. Burgoyne was evidently growing weaker by his compulsory delay. His base of supplies was so distant, and precarious, that he

was soon placed in a half-starving condition, surrounded on three sides by foes who were preparing to make raids on the fourth. He was absolutely unable to retreat or move forward with vigor. In this dilemma, and feeling the necessity of making a bold stroke for relief, he sent a detachment of his army, composed of Germans, Canadians, Tories and Indians, toward Bennington, in the now State of Vermont, which had been organized and declared independent by a convention at Windsor in the previous January. The object was to strengthen and organize the Tories; procure horses to mount



DEATH OF JANE M'CREA.

the German dragoons, and to seize cattle, wagons, and stores which it was said had been gathered in large numbers and quantities at Bennington. The detachment was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Baum of the German dragoons. They reached the neighborhood of Bennington on the evening of the 13th of August [1777]. Perceiving some reconnoitering Americans the next morning, Baum sent back for reinforcements, when Burgoyne dispatched two German battalions with two cannon under Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, who marched through steady rain almost continually for thirty hours. Baum, in the meantime, had taken position on a hill four or five miles westward of Bennington, that sloped down to the Walloomscoick Creek, and there cast up some intrenchments.

The New Hampshire militia had just been organized, and placed under the command of Colonel William Whipple (a signer of the Declaration of Independence) and John Stark, a veteran of the French and Indian War

They were embodied to assist in defending the western frontiers of Vermont from the invading British army. When Baum arrived on the Walloomscoick, Stark was at Bennington with part of a brigade. He immediately sent for the shattered remains of Colonel Seth Warner's regiment at Manchester. They marched all night in rain, and joined Stark on the 14th at near dawn, thoroughly drenched. All that day and the next, the drenching rain continued. Parties of Americans continually annoyed the intruders by attacks here and there upon their flanks or rear, but no battle occurred. On the evening of the 15th, some reinforcements came from Berkshire, Massachusetts, bringing with them the Rev. Mr. Allen, a belligerent chaplain. He told Stark that the people of his district had been frequently called out to fight, without being allowed to, and if they were not gratified this time, they would not turn out again. "Do you wish to march now, in the darkness and rain?" inquired Stark. "No, not just this moment," answered the fighting parson. "Then," Stark said, "if the Lord shall once more give us sunshine, and I do not give you fighting enough, I'll never ask you to come out again." Sunshine came with the morrow, and the parson and his men had "fighting enough" before the evening twilight.

On the bright, hot morning of the 16th (August, 1777), Stark formed a plan of attack on the foe lying upon the Walloomscoick Heights. He divided his force, and at three o'clock in the afternoon, the detachments, led by Colonels Nicholls and Herrick, Hubbard and Stickney, and a considerable force by Stark in person, attacked the enemy on every side. The frightened Indians dashed through a gap in the encircling American lines and fled to the shelter of the woods, leaving their chief dead on the field. After a severe contest for two hours, the ammunition of the Germans failed, when they attempted to break through the line of besiegers with bayonets and sabres. In the attempt Baum was killed and his veterans were made prisoners. At that moment Breyman appeared with his wearied battalion, and Warner joined Stark with some fresh troops. The battle was instantly resumed. The cannon which had been taken from the Germans was turned upon their friends. A desperate fight ensued and continued until sunset, when Breyman retreated, leaving his artillery and nearly all of his wounded behind. The Germans had lost about one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, and seven hundred made prisoners. The loss of the Americans was less than a hundred.

The victory was complete and brilliant. It inspirited the Americans, and carried dismay to the hearts of the Tories and the British commander. To the latter the expedition was very disastrous. It disheartened his Tory friends. Many of the Canadians and Indians deserted, and the spirits of his

whole army were depressed. It crippled his movements at a moment when it was all-important that he should go forward with celerity. St. Leger, whom he had sent by way of Oswego to invade the Mohawk Valley, was there, besieging Fort Schuyler on the site of Rome, and they were to meet as victors at Albany. His plans were frustrated; his hopes were destroyed. His troops had to be fed with provisions brought from England by way of Canada, over Lakes Champlain and George and a perilous land carriage, for gathering patriots were hovering about his rear. It was perilous for him to remain where he was, and more perilous for him to advance or retreat.

While these important events were occurring eastward of Schuyler's camp at Stillwater, equally important ones were happening westward of him. Brant had come from Canada in the spring of 1777, and in June was at the head of a band of Indian marauders on the head-waters of the Susquehanna. Brigadier-General Nicholas Herkimer was at the head of the Tryon county militia, and was instructed by Schuyler to watch and check any hostile movements of the Mohawk Chief, whose presence had put an end to the neutrality of his nation and of others of the Iroquois Confederacy. To assist the Whigs of Tryon county, a garrison commanded by Colonel Peter Gansevoort was placed in Fort Schuyler, which was reinforced by the regiment of Colonel Marinus Willett. Bateaux had just brought provisions up the Mohawk for the garrison, when, at the beginning of August, St. Leger, with a motley host of Tories and Canadians, under Colonels Johnson, Claus and Butler, and Indians led by Brant, arrived from Oswego and began a close siege of the fort. Hearing of this, Herkimer, with the Tryon county militia, proceeded to help the garrison. He sent them word that he was coming. On the receipt of the news a part of two regiments (Gansevoort's and Wesson's), led by Colonel Willett, made a sortie from the fort, and fell upon the camp of Johnson's "Royal Greens" (see page 852) so suddenly and effectively, that they were dispersed in great confusion, Sir John not having time to put on his coat before he was compelled to fly. His papers and baggage and those of other officers, and the clothing, blankets, stores and camp equipage, sufficient to fill twenty wagons, were the spoils of victory, with five British standards as trophies. A part of Sir John's "Greens," and some Indians, had gone to meet approaching Herkimer.

At Oriskany, a few miles west of Utica, Herkimer and his little army were marching in fancied security on the morning of the 6th of August, when Tories and Indians from St. Leger's army, suddenly rose from an ambush and fell upon the patriots at all points with pikes, hatchets, and rifle-balls. Herkimer's rear-guard broke and fled; the remainder sustained a fierce conflict for more than an hour with great bravery. General Herkimer

had a horse shot dead under him, and by the bullet that killed the animal, his own leg was shattered just below the knee. Sitting on his saddle and leaning against a beech tree, the brave old general (then sixty-five years of age) directed the battle with great coolness, while the bullets flew thickly around him. A heavy thunder-shower caused a lull in the fight. When it had passed, the battle was renewed with great violence, Major Watts, a brother-in-law of Sir John Johnson leading a portion of the "Greens." At length the Indians, hearing the firing in the direction of the fort, where Willett made his sortie, became panic-stricken and fled to the deep woods. They were soon followed by the equally alarmed Tories and Canadians. The Patriots were left masters of the field, but they did not relieve Fort Schuyler. Their commander was carried to his home, below the Little Falls, where he died from the effects of excessive bleeding from his wound.

St. Leger continued the siege. The garrison bravely held out; and Colonel Willett went from the fort stealthily down the Mohawk Valley with a message from Gansevoort to Schuyler, asking for relief. The sagacious general perceived the importance of beating back St. Leger, as a part of the means for securing the expected victory over Burgoyne. He called a council of officers, and proposed to send a detachment up the valley. They opposed the measure because the army was then too weak to check the march of Burgoyne. The general persisted in his opinion of the necessity and humanity of sending a force to the relief of Fort Schuyler. He was walking the floor with great anxiety of mind, when he heard one of the officers say in a low tone of voice, "He means to weaken the army." That was an epitome of all the slanders which had been uttered since the evacuation of Ticonderoga.



WOUNDED HERKIMER DIRECTING THE BATTLE.

He heard the charge of implied treason with the hottest indignation. Turning quickly toward the slanderer, and unconsciously biting into several pieces a clay pipe which he was smoking, he exclaimed in a voice that awed the whole company into silence: "Gentlemen, I shall take the responsibility upon myself; where is the brigadier who will take command of the relief? I shall beat up for volunteers to-morrow." General Arnold, ever ready for deeds of daring, at once stepped forward and offered his services. Before noon the next day (August 13), eight hundred stalwart men were enrolled for the expedition. They were chiefly from the Massachusetts brigade of General Larned. They followed their brave leader with perfect confidence, and won success. By prowess, audacity and stratagem, Arnold compelled the invader to raise the siege of Fort Schuyler within ten days after he left the camp at Stillwater. At Fort Dayton (German Flats) he found a half-idiotic Tory, a prisoner, who had been tried for crimes and condemned to death. His mother begged for his pardon. It was promised by Arnold under the condition that he should go, with a friendly Oneida Indian, among the savages in St. Leger's camp, and by representing the Americans on the march against them as extremely numerous, frighten them away. The prisoner agreed. He had several shots fired through his coat, and with these evidences of "a terrible engagement with the enemy," he ran, almost out of breath, among the Indians, declaring that he had just escaped from the approaching Americans. Pointing toward the trees and the sky, he said, "They are as many as the leaves and the stars at night." Very soon his companion, the Oneida, came running from another direction, with the same story. The Indians, thoroughly alarmed, held a *pow-wow*—a consultation with the Great Spirit—and resolved to fly. No persuasion could hold them. Away they went as fast as their feet could carry them, toward Oswego and the more western wilds, followed by their pale-faced confrères, pell-mell, in a race for the safe bosom of Lake Ontario. So the siege of Fort Schuyler was raised; and so ended the formidable invasion from the west.

The expulsion of St. Leger and his followers was a severe blow to the hopes of Burgoyne. This disaster, following so closely upon that near Bennington, staggered him. His visions of conquest, and orders, and perhaps a peerage for himself, vanished. His doom was pronounced. His army was already conquered in fact—it needed very little to make it so, in form. The wise policy and untiring exertions of General Schuyler had accomplished the ruin of the invading army.

The harvests were now nearly over; the spirits of the patriots were greatly revived by recent events; public confidence in General Schuyler, so

rudely shaken by misfortune and slander, was rapidly returning, and as a consequence recruits for the Northern Army were flocking into camp, with daily-increasing volume. Schuyler was preparing to march to an easy victory over his hopelessly crippled foe, and so win the laurels which he fairly deserved, when, on the 19th of August, General Gates arrived in camp, and took command of the army, in accordance with the following resolution passed by Congress :

"Resolved, That Major-General Schuyler be directed to repair to headquarters.

"That General Washington be directed to order such general officer as he shall think proper to repair immediately to the Northern Department, to relieve Major-General Schuyler in his command there."

This was evidently the work of intrigue, faction, and conspiracy. Washington, who was then in his camp at Germantown, near Philadelphia, was fully aware of the schemes of Gates and his friends, and would not consent to be a scapegoat for them; so he declined to nominate a successor to Schuyler, and the Congress proceeded to appoint Gates to that office. They clothed him with powers which they had never conferred on his predecessor, and voted him all the aid Schuyler had ever asked, and which had been withheld. The patriotic general felt the indignity keenly, yet he did not allow his personal grievances to interfere with his duty to his country. He received Gates cordially, furnished him with every kind of useful information respecting the army, and offered him all the aid in his power to give. This generosity was requited by jealousy and coldness. Yet this despicable treatment did not abate Schuyler's efforts to secure the defeat of Burgoyne, although he knew the laurels that would thereby be won would be placed on the brow of his undeserving successor.

Had Gates acted promptly, he might have ended the campaign in the Northern Department, within a fortnight after his arrival. But he lingered twenty days in needless inactivity near the mouth of the Mohawk River, nine miles above Albany, to which place Schuyler, pursuant to a decision of a council of officers, had removed the army from Stillwater. At the end of the twenty days, Gates moved up the valley of the Hudson with an effective force of nine thousand men; and upon Bemis's Heights, an elevated rolling plain a short distance above Stillwater, he established a fortified camp, having Kosciuszko, the brave Polish patriot, as chief engineer. In the meantime, one hundred and eighty boats had been brought over the country by teams and soldiers, from Lakes Champlain and George, with a month's provisions for the use of Burgoyne's army, then reduced to less than six thousand men.

Seeing the advance of Gates, Burgoyne called in his outposts, and with

his shattered forces and his splendid train of artillery, he crossed the Hudson River over a bridge of boats on the 13th of September, and encamped on the heights at Saratoga, where Schuylerville now stands. There he made immediate preparations to attempt to force his way to Albany. He then knew that Howe had sailed southward and would not co-operate with him; and he perceived the necessity of acting promptly, for General Lincoln was gathering a force of New Englanders on his flank, and detachments of Republican troops were menacing his communications with his base of supplies. The American army, every day increasing in strength, were well posted on Bemis's Heights. Their right rested upon the Hudson River below the Heights; their left was upon gentle hills that could not be commanded by hostile cannon from any point; and a well-constructed line of intrenchment stretched along their front. Here an army more numerous than that of Burgoyne lay directly across his path to Albany, and must be dislodged before he could go forward.



CHAPTER LXXIII.

Colonel Brown's Raid in the Rear of Burgoyne's Army —Forward Movement of Burgoyne—Battle on Bemis's Heights—Bad Conduct of Gates, and Bravery of Arnold and Morgan—Gates's Jealousy—Desperate Condition of Burgoyne's Army—His Foolish Boast—Decision of a Council—Second Battle on Bemis's Heights—Gates and Arnold Again—Bravery of the Latter—Victory—Surrender of Burgoyne and His Army.

BURGOYNE felt compelled, by imperious circumstances, to move forward. Orders had been sent to General Lincoln, stationed at Manchester, to make a movement in the rear of the invaders, and he sent Colonel John Brown (the officer who failed to co-operate with Ethan Allen at Montreal), with five hundred light troops and some artillery, to cut off Burgoyne's sources of supplies. At dawn on the 18th of September (1777), Brown surprised an outpost at the foot of Lake George; captured a British provision vessel; seized the post at the falls of the outlet of the lake; took possession of Mount Hope and Mount Defiance, with the French lines, and demanded the surrender of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. He destroyed two hundred vessels in that outlet, including seventeen gun-boats and an armed-sloop; released a hundred American prisoners, and captured about three hundred of the enemy. He also assailed a British post on Diamond Island, in Lake George; but this, and the two forts, were too strong for his little force to capture, and he returned to Manchester with his trophies; among them were five field-pieces.

In the meantime Burgoyne had advanced to a point very near the American lines; and on the morning of the 19th, he moved his army in three columns to offer battle. The left wing, with the immense train of artillery, under the command of Generals Phillips and Riedesel, kept upon the plain near the river. The centre, composed largely of Germans, extended to a range of hills that were touched by the American left, and was led by Burgoyne in person. Upon these hills Fraser and Breyman, with grenadiers and infantry, were posted, with the intention of outflanking the republicans. The front and flank of the invading army were covered by the Canadians, Indians, and Tories who remained in camp. Burgoyne's men

had slept on their arms for several nights, expecting an attack in force from the Americans, for the active Arnold, with about fifteen hundred men, had annoyed the British continually, by sudden assaults at night.

Gates, who lacked personal courage and the skill of a good commander, had resolved to act on the defensive within his lines. Arnold and others had been observing, through vistas in the woods, evident preparations for battle all the morning, and had urged Gates to send out a detachment to smite the enemy. But he would give no order and evinced no disposition



MORGAN'S RIFLEMEN ON THE FIELD.

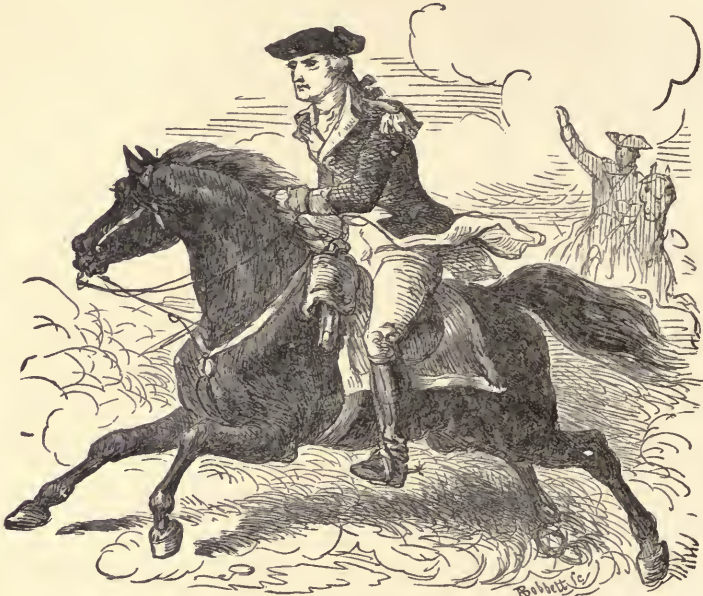
to fight. Even when, at eleven o'clock, the boom of a cannon awoke the echoes of the hills, and which was Burgoyne's signal for a general advance of his army, Gates seemed almost indifferent. His officers became very impatient as the peril to the camp drew nearer. Arnold was as restive as a hound in a leash; he was finally permitted to order out Morgan with his riflemen and Dearborn with infantry, to attack the Canadians and Indians who were swarming upon the hills in advance of Burgoyne's right.

This detachment fell vigorously upon the foe and drove them back. Morgan's men pursued them so eagerly, that his riflemen became scattered and weakened, and a reinforcement of Tories drove them back. For a moment Morgan thought his corps was ruined. He sounded his shrill whistle, when they rallied around him, and with Massachusetts and New Hampshire troops, the former under Dearborn and the latter under Scammell and Cilley, they repeated the charge. After a short, sharp fight, the parties withdrew to their respective lines, with the loss of twenty men made prisoners, on the part of the Americans. Morgan had his horse shot under him.

Burgoyne, in the meantime, had made a rapid movement for the purpose of falling heavily upon the American left and centre. At the same time, Fraser, on the extreme right, made a quick movement to turn the American left. The vigilant Arnold, with equal celerity of movement, attempted to turn the British right at the same time. He might have succeeded had not Gates denied him reinforcements and done everything in his power to restrain him. Masked by the thick woods, neither party could know much about the doings of the other, and they suddenly and unexpectedly met in a ravine, west of Freeman's Farm at which Burgoyne had halted. There they fought desperately for awhile. Arnold was forced back, when Fraser, by a quick movement, called up some German troops from Burgoyne's centre, to his aid. Arnold rallied his men, and with the assistance of New England troops under Brooks, Dearborn, Scammell, Cilley, and Hull, he smote the enemy so lustily that their line began to waver and fall into confusion. General Phillips, from his position below the Heights, heard the din of battle resounding through the woods, and hurried over the hills with fresh troops and some artillery, followed by a portion of the Germans under Riedesel, and appeared upon the ground when the victory seemed about to rest with the Americans. Still the battle raged. The ranks of the British were fearfully thinning, when Riedesel made a furious attack on the flank of the Americans with cannon and musketry, which compelled them to give way. So the Germans saved the British army from ruin.

There was now a lull in the tempest of battle. It was at the middle of the afternoon of a bright September day. That lull was succeeded by a more violent outburst of fury. Burgoyne opened a heavy cannonade upon the Americans, who made no response. Then he ordered a bayonet charge. Column after column of British troops were soon moving over the gently rolling ground, toward the American lines. As they rushed forward to charge upon the republicans, their silent enemy sprang forward like tigers from a covert, and assailed the British so furiously, with ball and bayonet, that they recoiled, and were pushed far back. At that time Arnold was at

headquarters, seated upon his large, black charger, and begging in vain of Gates for reinforcements. When he heard that the battle was raging, but with no decisive results, he could no longer brook delay. Turning his horse's head toward the storm, and exclaiming, "I'll soon put an end to it," he went off at full gallop, followed by an officer whom Gates sent after him to order him back. The subaltern could not overtake the gallant general, who, by his words and example, animated the republican troops. For three hours



ARNOLD GOING INTO BATTLE.

the battle raged, the combatants surging backward and forward across the fields like the ebb and flow of a tide, each winning and losing victory alternately. All too late, Gates sent out the New York regiments of Van Cortlandt and Livingston, and the whole brigade of Learned. The Americans had lately almost turned the British flank, when Colonel Breyman, with his German fighting bravely, prevented the blow that might have been fatal to the British army.

But for Arnold, no doubt Burgoyne would have reached Albany within a day, a victor. Had Gates complied with Arnold's wishes for reinforcements early, the surrender of Burgoyne's army might not have been deferred a month. To Arnold and his division was chiefly due the credit of success-

fully resisting the invaders at Bemis's Heights. The jealous Gates, angry because the army praised Arnold, did not mention his name, nor that of the gallant Morgan, in his official report of the battle, in which the Americans lost less than three hundred men.

On the morning of the 20th (September, 1777), Burgoyne perceived the desperate condition of his army, encamped so near the American lines that they could not make a movement unperceived by their foe. He had lost about six hundred men. His broken army were utterly dispirited. Arnold wished to attack him at dawn, but Gates would not consent. Burgoyne withdrew to a point two miles from the American lines, where he cast up intrenchments, hoping hourly for good news from Sir Henry Clinton at New York. He harangued his troops to revive their courage, and declared his determination to force his way to Albany or to leave his body on the field. His own spirits were revived the next morning by a message from Sir Henry, who promised to make a diversion in his favor by an expedition up the Hudson River. The same messenger brought a despatch from Howe announcing his victory over Washington on the Brandywine. These glad tidings were communicated to his army, and Burgoyne wrote to Clinton that he could maintain his position until the 12th of October. But his condition rapidly grew worse. The American army on his front increased, while his own decreased. The American militia were swarming on his flanks and rear, and his foraging parties were so harassed by them, that they could gather very little food for the starving horses. In his hospitals were at least eight hundred sick and wounded men, and his effective troops had to be fed with diminished rations. The Indians deserted him, while through the exertions of Schuyler, Oneida warriors joined the army of Gates. General Lincoln arrived with two thousand militia on the 22d, and took command of the right wing of the army.

With all his advantages over the enemy, Gates remained inactive. His officers were chagrined. Arnold, chafed by Gates's apathy, could not restrain his impatience, and he wrote a note to his commander, saying: "I think it my duty (which nothing shall deter me from doing) to acquaint you the army is becoming clamorous for action. The militia (who compose a quarter part of the army) are already threatening to go home. One fortnight's inaction will, I make no doubt, lessen your army, by sickness and desertion, at least four thousand men, in which time the enemy may be reinforced, and make good their retreat. I have reason to think that had we improved the 20th of September, it might have ruined the enemy. That is past; let me entreat you to improve the present time." This proper impertinence on the part of a subordinate, Gates treated with silent contempt.

Burgoyne waited many days for tidings from Clinton, but none came; and on the evening of the 4th of October he called Phillips, Riedesel, and Fraser to a council. Burgoyne proposed to attempt to turn the American left by a swift circuitous march. Riedesel favored a rapid retreat to Fort Edward; but Fraser was willing to fight. The latter course was agreed upon; and on the morning of the 7th of October, after liquors and rations for four days had been given to the whole army, Burgoyne moved toward the left of the American lines with fifteen hundred picked men, eight brass cannon, and two howitzers. When within three-fourths of a mile of their works, he formed a battle-line behind a forest screen. He had left the main army on the Heights in command of Brigadiers Hamilton and Specht, and the redoubts near the river with Brigadier-General Gall. Phillips, Riedesel, and Fraser were with the commanding-general. There were never better troops or better commanders on a field of battle. Burgoyne sent out a party, composed of Canadian rangers, loyalists and Indians, to make a circuit through the woods and hang on the American rear, and so keep them in check, while he should attack their front.

Burgoyne's movement was discovered before he was ready for battle, and the drums of the advanced-guard of the Americans beat to arms. The alarm rang along the lines. Gates had then over ten thousand troops in his camp—enough, if properly managed, to have crushed the weakened invaders at a single blow. He ordered his officers to their alarm-posts, and sent his favorite aide (Wilkinson) to inquire the cause of the disturbance. When informed that the enemy were about to attack his left, he listened to the advice of Colonel Morgan, and ordered that officer to go out with his riflemen and "begin the game." Morgan was soon moving with celerity with his corps and some infantry, to secure a position on the Heights on the flank and rear of the British right. At the same time General Poor, with his own New Hampshire brigade and followed by New York militia under Ten Broeck, advanced against the British left. Meanwhile the rangers and their companions had successfully turned the flank of the Americans, and partly gaining their rear, had attacked their pickets. These were soon joined by British grenadiers, who drove the Americans back to their lines, where a hot engagement for half an hour ensued. In that fight Morgan was engaged, and his brave riflemen charged the assailants so vigorously, that they retreated in confusion to the British line which now appeared in battle order on an open field. The grenadiers, under Major Ackland, with the artillery under Major Williams, formed the left upon rising ground; the centre was composed of Brunswickers under Riedesel and British under Phillips; and the extreme left was composed of light infantry under Earl Balcarras. General

Fraser was at the head of five hundred picked men a short distance in advance of the British right, ready to fall upon the left flank of the Americans when the action in front should begin.

It was now half-past three o'clock. Just as Burgoyne was about to advance, he was astounded by the thunder of cannon on his left, and the crack and rattle of rifle and muskets on his right. Poor had advanced stealthily up the slope on which the troops of Ackland and Williams were posted, and in perfect silence had pressed on through the thick wood toward the batteries of the latter. When they were discovered, the enemy opened a heavy storm of musket-balls and grape-shot upon the republicans. These made terrible havoc among the leaves and branches over their heads, but scarcely a shot struck one of the Americans. This was the signal for the latter to break silence. They sprang forward with a shout, delivered fire in rapid volleys, and then opened right and left, to seek the shelter of the trees on the margin of the ridge on which the British artillery was planted. A fierce conflict now ensued. The Americans rushed up to the very mouths of the cannon, and struggled hand-to-hand with the enemy for victory, among the carriages of the field-pieces. Five times one of the cannon was taken and retaken. When, at last, the British fell back, and the cannon remained with the Americans, Colonel Cilley, who had fought gallantly at the head of his regiment, leaped upon the captured gun, waved his sword high in air, and dedicated the weapon "to the American cause." Then he wheeled its muzzle toward the enemy, and with their own ammunition opened its destructive energies upon them. This act gave fresh courage to the republicans, who yet had much to do. The contest was long and obstinate, until Major Ackland was severely wounded and Major Williams was made a prisoner. Then the grenadiers and artillerymen, panic-struck, fled in confusion. Sir Francis Clarke, Burgoyne's chief aide, who was sent to secure the cannon, was mortally wounded, made a prisoner, and was carried to Gates's tent. The whole eight pieces of artillery and the possession of the field remained with the Americans.

Meanwhile Morgan had assailed Fraser's flanking corps in advance of the British right with such a tempest of rifle-balls, that they were driven hastily back to their lines. Then, with the speed of a gale, Morgan wheeled, and fell upon the British right with such appalling force and impetuosity that their ranks were quickly thrown into confusion. This attack was so unexpected by the enemy, that a panic immediately pervaded their columns. It was instantly followed by an onslaught in front by Major Dearborn, with fresh troops, when the British broke and fled in terror. They were soon rallied by Earl Balcarras, who placed them in battle attitude again. This shock on

the right convulsed the British centre, composed chiefly of Germans, but it maintained its position.

Soon after the battle of the 19th, Gates, jealous of Arnold and offended by his impertinence, had deprived that officer of all command. He was stripped of authority to give an order or even to fight. The impetuous, quarrelsome, insubordinate brigadier, thirsting for the glory which he might win on that field, and inspired by patriotism, stood chafing with impatience



THE ARTILLERY OF THE BRITISH TURNED UPON THEMSELVES.

and irritation, a chained spectator of the battle. At length, when he could no longer restrain himself, he sprang upon the back of his big black charger, as before, and started on a full gallop for the field of action. Gates sent Major Armstrong to order him back. Arnold saw the subaltern in chase and divined his errand. He put spurs to his horse, and left Armstrong far behind; and placing himself at the head of three regiments of Learned's brigade, who received their old commander with three hearty cheers, he led them against the British centre. With the desperation of a madman he rushed into the thickest of the fight, or rode along the lines with rapid and erratic movements, brandishing his sword over his head, and delivering his orders everywhere, in person. Armstrong followed him half an hour, but Arnold's course was so varied and perilous that he gave up the chase.

The Germans received the assault of the troops led by Arnold with brave resistance; but when he dashed in among them at the head of his men, they broke and fled in dismay. At this time, the battle became

general all along the lines. Burgoyne, perceiving that the fate of his army hung upon the result of the conflict that day, exposed himself fearlessly at the head of his troops, and bade them defend their positions while a man was left alive. Arnold and Morgan were the ruling spirits among the Americans. The gallant Fraser was the soul that directed the most potent energies of the British. Like Arnold, his voice and example were electric in their power, when directing attacks and in bringing order out of confusion. He was dressed in full uniform and rode a splendid gray gelding, both making conspicuous objects on the field. Morgan perceived that the fate of the battle depended upon that officer. Suppressing his better feelings, he called a file of his most expert sharp-shooters, and pointing toward the scarlet-clad leader, said: "That gallant officer is General Fraser. I admire and honor him, but it is necessary he should die; victory for the enemy depends upon him. Take your stations in that clump of bushes, and do your duty." Within five minutes after this order was given, General Fraser fell, mortally wounded, and was carried sorrowfully to the British camp, for he was truly loved by all. A bullet from the rifle of Timothy Murphy, mounted in a sapling, had passed through his body.

When the gallant Fraser fell, a panic ran along the British line. It might have been temporary, had not General Ten Broeck appeared at that critical moment with three thousand fresh New York militia. At sight of them, the wavering line gave way, and the troops retreated to their intrenchments covered by Phillips and Riedesel. They left their artillery behind, for all the horses, and nearly all the men who had defended the pieces were slain or wounded. Up to these intrenchments, in the face of a terrible storm of grape-shot and bullets, the Americans, with Arnold at their head, eagerly pressed, and assailed the works with small arms. Balcarras bravely defended them, until he could resist no longer. Above the din of battle the voice of Arnold was heard, and his form was seen in the midst of the sulphurous smoke, dashing from point to point and encouraging his men. With a part of the brigades of Paterson and Glover, he drove the troops of the Earl from an *abatis*—an obstruction of fallen trees—at the point of the bayonet, and attempted to force his way into the British camp. Failing in this, he placed himself at the head of Learned's brigade, and made a vigorous assault upon the enemy's right, which was defended by Canadians and Loyalists, who were flanked by a stockade redoubt on each side. For awhile the result appeared doubtful. At length the English gave way, leaving the Germans under General Specht entirely exposed.

Arnold now ordered up from the left the New York regiments of Wesson and Livingston, and Morgan's riflemen, to make a general assault, while

Colonel Brooks, with his Massachusetts regiment, accompanied by Arnold, attacked the German troops commanded by Breyman. Arnold rushed into the sally-port on his powerful horse, and spread terror among the Hessians there. They had seen him in the thickest of the fight, for two hours, unhurt, and regarding him with superstitious awe, as one possessed of a charmed life, they fled. They gave a parting volley in their retreat, which killed Arnold's horse and severely wounded the same leg that was badly hurt at Quebec. Then, at the moment of victory, and at the head of his troops, wounded and disabled, he was overtaken by Major Armstrong, who had resumed the chase, and received from him the order from Gates to return to camp, for the commander-in-chief feared Arnold might "do some rash thing." He had done a "rash thing" in achieving a decisive victory—a triumph which proved to be a turning-point in the war in favor of the Americans—without the orders or even the permission of his commander.

The glamour of false light which often surrounds the commander of a victorious army frequently conceals the truth, and deprives the most meritorious of the actors of their just reward. The dazzled public lauded Gates as a great general, because he was the commander of the victorious army on this occasion, when the truth assures us that he was a hindrance instead of an aid, in the achievement of the triumph. While Arnold was reaping golden sheaves of glory for Gates's garner, by wielding the fierce sickle of war, the latter and General Lincoln, his second in command, did not appear upon the field of battle. Gates, it is said, did not leave his tent at all that day, for he had not recovered from a debauch in which he had indulged the night before. His favorite aide (Wilkinson) said afterward, that when he went to headquarters for orders in the afternoon, he found Gates more intent upon discussing the merits of the Revolution with Burgoyne's dying aide than upon winning the battle then raging. He followed Wilkinson as he went out, and asked him—"Did you ever hear so impudent a son of a —," referring to the wounded officer, who had ventured to differ with him. Poor Sir Francis Clarke died that night upon the bed of his coarse and vulgar antagonist.

It was twilight when the wounded Arnold was carried from the field. The rout of the Germans was complete. They threw down their arms and ran, and could not be rallied. Colonel Breyman was mortally wounded. The conflict ceased when the curtain of night fell upon the scene. At about midnight, the division of Lincoln marched out to the relief of those upon the field; and before the dawn, Burgoyne, who had resolved to retreat, removed his whole force a mile or two north of his intrenchments, which the Americans immediately took possession of.

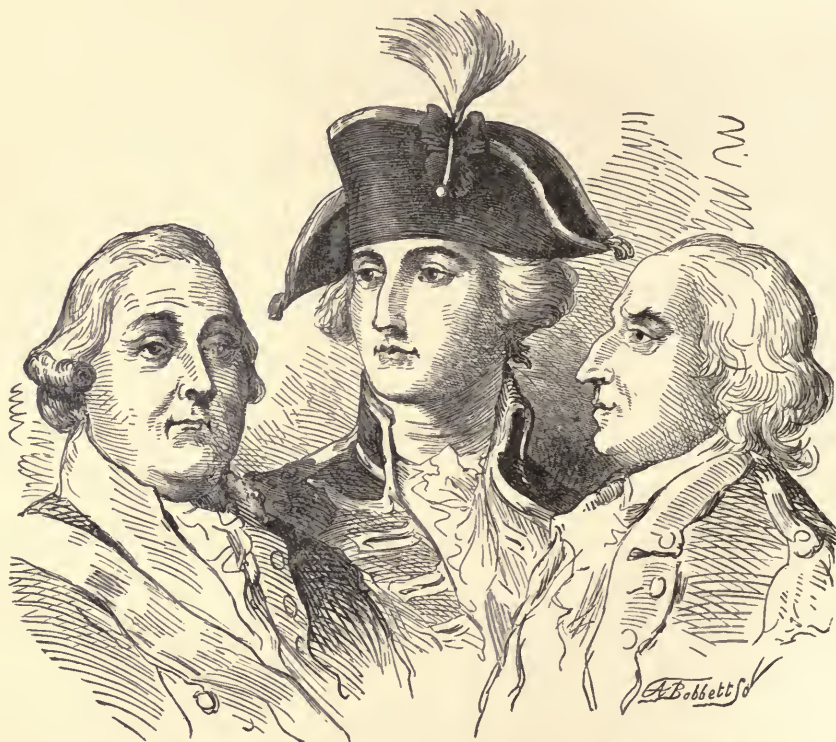
General Fraser died on the morning after the battle, and his body was buried, at the evening twilight of the same day, within a redoubt upon a gentle eminence, which the hero had chosen for his place of sepulture. A very touching account of his death and his funeral is given in the published letters and memoirs of the Baroness de Riedesel, wife of the Brunswick general, who, with her children, accompanied her husband while he was in America. The body of Fraser was followed to the grave by Burgoyne and a large number of officers led by Mr. Brudenell, the faithful chaplain of the artillerists. As the funeral procession moved up the slope in the dim light, it appeared to Americans like a hostile movement, and they opened a cannonade upon it from the eastern side of the Hudson; but as soon as its solemn character was made known, the cannonade for destruction was changed to the firing of minute-guns in honor of the memory of the brave soldier.

The wife of Major Ackland (a daughter of the Earl of Ilchester), who accompanied her husband, and was with Madame Riedesel during the battle of the 7th of October, when she heard that her husband was wounded and a prisoner, resolved to go to the American camp in search of him. On a dark and stormy night she descended the Hudson in an open boat, accompanied by Chaplain Brudenell, and bearing a letter of introduction from Burgoyne to Gates. She found her husband at the headquarters of Arnold, now (1876) the residence of Mr. Neilson, on Bemis's Heights, where she was permitted to nurse him until he was able to travel to New York and sail for England.

On the night of the 8th, Burgoyne, with his shattered and dispirited army, retreated to the Heights of Saratoga, reaching there, after a wretched march in a heavy rainstorm, on the morning of the 10th. At the passage of the Fish Creek at Saratoga, they destroyed the mansion, mills, outbuildings, and other property belonging to General Schuyler, and valued at fifty thousand dollars. The main army of the Americans also moved northward. The brigade of General Fellows were posted on the hills eastward of the Hudson, within cannon-range of the British camp, which their batteries commanded. Burgoyne now despaired; and at a council of general officers, it was determined to open negotiations with Gates for a surrender on honorable terms. These were finally agreed upon, and at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 17th of October, 1777, the vanquished troops laid down their arms upon the plain near the Hudson River, in front of the present village of Schuylerville. Then Burgoyne rode toward the headquarters of Gates, with his staff. They met that officer on the road not far from the ruined mansion of General Schuyler, when Burgoyne, in the presence of that patriot

and many other American officers, and his own, surrendered his sword to the commander of the victorious republican army. Then they all returned to Gates's headquarters, and dined together.

The whole number of troops surrendered was five thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, of whom two thousand four hundred and twelve were



GENERAL RIEDESEL.

GENERAL BURGOYNE.

GENERAL GATES.

Brunswickers and Hessians. Besides these, there were eighteen hundred prisoners of war, including the sick and wounded abandoned to the Americans. The entire loss of the British army after they entered the province of New York, including those under St. Leger disabled or captured at Fort Schuyler and Oriskany, was almost ten thousand men. On Burgoyne's staff were six members of Parliament. Among the spoils of war that fell to the Americans were forty-two pieces of the best brass cannon then known; four thousand six hundred muskets, and a large quantity of munitions of war.



CHAPTER LXXIV.

The Terms of Burgoyne's Surrender—The Disposition of His Troops—Sir Henry Clinton's Stratagem—Capture of Forts in the Hudson Highlands—Marauding Expedition up the Hudson—Washington Confronting Howe in Delaware and Pennsylvania—Battle on the Brandywine—Movements of the Belligerents Afterwards—Wayne Attacked near the Paoli—The British in Possession of Philadelphia—Operations on the Delaware—Battle at Germantown.

GENERAL GATES granted very generous terms to Burgoyne and his army. His troops were not held as prisoners of war, but allowed a free passage to Europe for those who wished to go there, and free permission for the Canadians to return to their homes, on the condition that none of the troops surrendered should serve against the Americans during the war. Arrangements were made for the march of the European captives, by the nearest route to the vicinity of Boston, there to be embarked as speedily as possible.

The vanquished army began their march for the seaboard on the day after their surrender. "It was solemn, sullen and silent," wrote a contemporary, but they were treated with such humanity and delicate respect for their feelings, that they were overwhelmed with astonishment and gratitude. The appearance of the German prisoners was extremely pitiful and ludicrous, according to eye-witnesses. Mrs. Dr. Winthrop of Cambridge, writing about the advent of these hirelings into Cambridge, remarked: "I never had the least idea that the creation produced such a sordid set of creatures in human figure—poor, dirty, emaciated men; great numbers of women, who seemed to be the beasts of burden, having bushel baskets on their heads, by which they were bent double. The contents seemed to be pots and kettles, various sorts of furniture, children peeping through gridirons and other utensils; some very young infants who were born on the road; the women, barefooted, clothed in rags. Such effluvia filled the air while they were passing that, had they not been smoking all the time, I should have been apprehensive of being contaminated."

The Congress ratified the generous terms made by Gates; but circumstances soon convinced them and Washington, that Burgoyne and his troops

intended to violate the agreement at the first opportunity. It was therefore resolved not to allow the "convention troops," as they were called, to leave the country until the British government should ratify the terms of the capitulation. Here was a dilemma. That government would not recognize the authority of Congress; so the troops remained idle in America four or five years.



HESSIANS ON THE MARCH.

The surrender of Burgoyne was, as we have observed, a turning-point in the war in favor of the Americans. Its salutary effects were immediately apparent. The credit of Congress was revived, and the work of the Commissioners abroad was made easier. New life was infused into every part of the public service, for the hopes of the people were buoyant. The militia of the country obeyed the summons to camp with alacrity, after the first check of Burgoyne on Bemis's Heights; and when the surrender took place,

Gates had under his immediate command more than thirteen thousand troops, with almost twelve thousand more subject to his call. The tide of public opinion in Europe set strongly in favor of the Americans; and less than four months after Burgoyne gave up his sword to Gates, France had formed a treaty of alliance with the United States and acknowledged their independence, while other European powers were thinking kindly of the Americans.

The joy of the moment invested Gates with the character of a saviour of the republican cause. In the pride of his heart, that officer disdained to make a report of the affair in writing to anybody, but sent Wilkinson, his favorite aide-de-camp, with a verbal message directly to Congress, instead of to Washington, his superior officer. The Congress were so unmindful of their own dignity, that they admitted Wilkinson to their hall and upon its floor to announce in studied phrases the news tardily sent, of the great victory, with his own lips. They voted the thanks of the nation to Gates and his army, and gave a gold medal to the general. In a written report afterward made, that leader barely mentioned the names of Arnold and Morgan, with others. He seemed to fear that giving just praise to others, might diminish his own renown. In this he anticipated the correct verdict of posterity.

While Burgoyne was struggling with his foes on the Upper Hudson, Sir Henry Clinton, whom Howe had left in command at New York, was trying to make a diversion in his favor on the lower and middle waters of that stream. Among the Hudson Highlands were three forts with feeble garrisons. Fort Constitution was upon a rocky island opposite West Point. Forts Clinton and Montgomery were upon the west bank of the river, one on each side of a small stream with high rocky shores. From the latter the Americans had stretched a chain and boom across the Hudson to Anthony's Nose, to prevent the passage of vessels up the stream. These forts were under the supervision of General Israel Putnam, whose headquarters were at Peekskill, a little below the Highlands; and Forts Clinton and Montgomery were under the immediate command of Governor George Clinton and his brother General James Clinton. Putnam had injudiciously granted so many furloughs or permits to be absent, that his whole force at Peekskill and the Highland forts, did not exceed two thousand men, at the time we are considering. Tories had informed Sir Henry of the weakness of the Highland forts, and as soon as reinforcements from Europe, which had been floating on the bosom of the Atlantic Ocean for almost three months, arrived, he prepared vessels suitable for transporting troops and munitions of war up the river. Vigilant Whigs below had informed Putnam of these

preparations before the close of September, and the general had sent the news to George Clinton, governor of the lately organized State of New York, who was attending a session of the legislature at Kingston. With what forces of militia he could gather, the governor hurried to Fort Clinton, his brother being in command of Fort Montgomery.

On the 4th of October, Sir Henry Clinton went up the Hudson with between three and four thousand troops, in many armed and unarmed vessels commanded by Commodore Hotham, and the next morning landed them



GENERAL PUTNAM.

on Verplanck's Point, a few miles below Peekskill, feigning an attack upon the latter post. This feint deceived Putnam, and he sent to Forts Clinton and Montgomery for reinforcements. This was precisely what Sir Henry wished. But the more sagacious Governor Clinton was not deceived, and held all the forces within his reach, at the Highland forts, which he rightly believed to be the baronet's objectives.

Under cover of a dense fog, Sir Henry embarked a little more than two thousand troops, and at dawn on the morning of the 6th, landed them on Stony Point, opposite Verplanck's, to make a circuitous march around the

lofty Donderberg and fall upon the Highland forts. At the same time orders were given for the war-vessels to anchor within point-blank cannon-shot distance of the forts, to beat off any American vessels that might appear above the chain and boom. Sir Henry divided his forces. One party led by General Vaughan, and accompanied by the baronet, about twelve hundred in number, went through a defile west of the Donderberg, to fall upon Fort Clinton, while another party, nine hundred strong, made a longer march around Bear Mountain, to assail Fort Montgomery. On the borders of Lake Sinnipink, at a narrow pass near Fort Clinton, Vaughan had a severe engagement with some troops sent out by the governor; at the same time, the latter sent to Putnam for aid. The messenger turned traitor and deserted to the British.

Campbell and his men arrived near Fort Montgomery in the afternoon, and at five o'clock a peremptory demand was made for the surrender of both forts. It was treated with scorn, when a simultaneous attack upon the forts by both divisions of the British, and the vessels in the river, began. The garrisons were mostly militia, and behaved well, making a vigorous defence until dark, when they were overpowered and sought safety in a scattered retreat to the adjacent mountains. Many got away, but a considerable number were slain or made prisoners. The governor fled across the river, and at midnight he was in the camp of Putnam planning future operations. His brother, badly wounded, made his way over the mountains to his home at New Windsor, where he was joined by the governor the next day. American vessels lying above the chain and boom slipped their cables and attempted to escape, but there was not wind enough to fill their sails; so their crews set them on fire to prevent their falling into the hands of the British. By the light of their burning vessels, the fugitive garrisons were enabled to make their way over the mountains to settlements beyond. Among the vessels burned was the frigate Montgomery, a sloop of ten guns, and a row-galley. The conflagration was a magnificent spectacle. A British officer wrote: "The flames suddenly broke forth, and, as every sail was set, the vessels soon became magnificent pyramids of fire. The reflection on the steep face of the opposite mountain and the long train of ruddy light which shone upon the waters for a prodigious distance, had a wonderful effect; while the ear was awfully filled with the continued echoes from the rocky shores, as the flames gradually reached the loaded cannon. The whole was sublimely terminated by the explosions, which left all again in darkness."

Early the next morning, the chain and boom were broken by the British, and a flying squadron of light vessels under Sir James Wallace, bearing the whole of Sir Henry's land force, went up the Hudson to devastate its shores,

and draw from Gates some of the troops that stood in the pathway of Burgoyne, for the protection of the country below. Sir Henry wrote a despatch to Burgoyne, on a piece of tissue paper, saying: "Here we are, and nothing between us and Gates." He inclosed it in a hollow silver bullet, gave it to a careful messenger, and returned to New York. That messenger was arrested in the American camp, in Orange county, as a spy. He swallowed the bullet. It was brought from his stomach by an emetic, and its contents being discovered, the bearer was hanged.



THE FRIGHTENED DUTCHMAN.

The marauders spread terror over the middle region of the Hudson, by their doings. They landed near Kingston, where the New York legislature were in session, and burned the village. Their advent was very sudden, for they moved with great celerity. Near their landing-place, some Dutchmen were at work. They fled in terror (not stopping to look back), across a meadow, in which the hay-makers had left a rake lying the previous summer. On this one of the flying Dutchmen trod, when the handle flew up and struck him on the back of the head. Not doubting it was a blow from a pursuing Briton, the fugitive threw up his arms and exclaimed, "Mein Got! I gives up! Hurrah for King Shorge!"

Leaving Kingston in ashes, the marauders went over to Rhinebeck, and destroyed much property there, and then went up to Livingston's Manor and applied the torch. There they were arrested by the alarming news of Burgoyne's defeat, and made a hasty retreat to New York. So ended the efforts to carry out the plan of the British ministry for taking possession of the valleys of the Hudson and Lake Champlain.

While the stirring events just delineated were occurring in the north, the republican army under Washington were struggling with royal troops and German hirelings under Sir William Howe in the vicinity of the Delaware River. We have observed that Washington, when he was certain that Howe would not ascend the Hudson, moved with his army to Philadelphia, expecting to meet his antagonist south of that city. His expectations were justified by events. Late in August he learned that Lord Howe's fleet, with his brother's army, was ascending Chesapeake Bay; and on the 24th of the month, Washington marched his army from Philadelphia, and arrived at Wilmington, in Delaware, the next day, at about the time when the British troops landed at near the head of the Elk River, fifty-four miles from the American capital. Howe immediately prepared to march across the gently rolling country inhabited chiefly by Tories, with the expectation of making an easy conquest of Philadelphia. His army numbered more than eighteen thousand men well supplied with munitions of war; Washington's effective force did not number over eleven thousand, including eighteen hundred Pennsylvania militia. The Congress had lavished all their favors upon Gates, the favorite of the New England delegation, who had just been sent to supersede Schuyler; and they treated Washington with positive neglect. "They did not scruple to slight his advice and to neglect his wants." With unbecoming and unpatriotic querulousness, some of the friends of Gates in Congress wrote and spoke disparagingly of Washington as a commander. Some of them were encouraging in the mind of Gates a hope that he would be the Virginian's successor in chief command. John Adams, with judgment warped by his partiality for Gates, wrote at this time: "We shall rake and scrape enough to do Howe's business; the Continental Army under Washington is more numerous by several thousands than Howe's whole force; the enemy give out that they are eighteen thousand strong, but we know better, and that they have not ten thousand. Washington is very prudent; I should put more to risk, were I in his shoes; but perhaps he is right. Gansevoort has proved that it is possible to hold a post, and Stark that it is practicable even to attack lines and posts with militia. I wish the Continental Army would prove that anything can be done. I am weary with so much insipidity. I am sick of Fabian systems. My toast is, a short and violent war." Adams was soon afterward satisfied that he was blinded by a sad delusion.

Washington advanced his forces beyond Wilmington, and early in September took post behind Red Clay Creek. He sent General Maxwell, with light troops, to form an ambuscade in the direction of the enemy, while with the main army he waited the approach of the foe, who moved in two columns

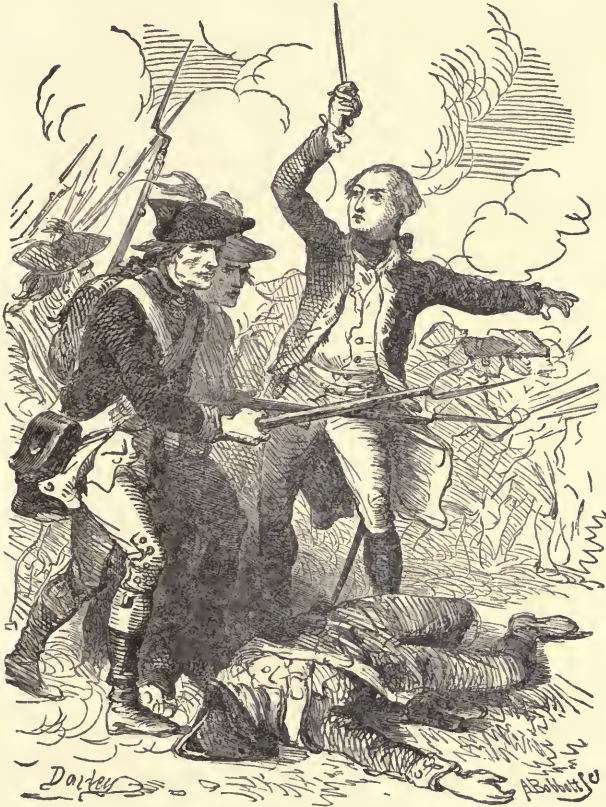
on the 3d of September, one division commanded by Cornwallis, and the other by Knyphausen. The advanced guard soon encountered Maxwell, when a sharp skirmish ensued and a temporary check was given to the march of the foe. On the 8th they again moved forward by way of Newark, and feigned an attack on Washington's right, while the main army halted with the expectation of turning that flank of the republican army the next morning with ease. But Washington outgeneraled Howe as he did Cornwallis at Trenton. By a swift and secret movement that night, he fell back to the Brandywine Creek, which he crossed at Chad's Ford, and took post in a strong position on the hills that skirt the eastern borders of that stream. The British were astonished at dawn on the morning of the 9th by the absence of Washington, and gave chase the same evening. The Americans stood directly in the path of the British in the proposed march upon Philadelphia.

On the 10th, the two divisions of Howe's army met at Kennet Square, and at five o'clock on the morning of the 11th a large portion of them, led by Cornwallis, marched up the Lancaster road toward the forks of the Brandywine. They left all their baggage, even to their knapsacks, with the other division, which, led by Knyphausen, marched a few hours later in a dense fog for Chad's Ford. Washington's left wing, composed of the brigades of Muhlenberg and Weedon of Greene's division, and Wayne's division with Proctor's artillery, were on the hills east of Chad's Ford. The brigades of Sullivan, Stirling and Stephen, composing the right wing, extended along the Brandywine to a point above the forks; and a thousand Pennsylvania militia, under General Armstrong, were at Pyle's Ford, two miles below Chad's Ford. General Maxwell, with a thousand light troops, was posted on the west side of the stream, to dispute the passage of Knyphausen. The latter pushed forward, and sent a strong party to dislodge Maxwell, who, after a severe fight, was driven to the edge of the Brandywine, where he was reinforced, and turning upon his pursuers, smote their ranks into confusion and pressed them back to their main line. Seeing a movement in force to gain his rear, Maxwell fled across the stream, leaving the western side in full possession of the enemy.

Knyphausen now brought his great guns to the high bank west of Chad's Ford, and opened them upon the Americans. He did not attempt to cross, for he was instructed to amuse the patriots with a feigned attempt to pass over, while Cornwallis should cross at the forks and gain the flank and rear of Washington's army. This accomplished, Knyphausen was to push over the stream, and both parties make a simultaneous attack.

Washington resolved to strike a blow at once. He sent word to Sullivan

to cross at a ford above, and attack Cornwallis, while he should pass over and assail Knyphausen. Through misinformation, Sullivan did not perform his part of the work. He sent a message to Washington, which kept him in suspense a long time. Greene, who had crossed at Chad's Ford with his advance-guard, was recalled, and Cornwallis, in the meantime, had made a



TROOPS RALLIED AT THE BRANDYWINE.

wide circuit, crossed the Brandywine far up that stream, and was upon a hill near the Birmingham meeting-house, not far from Sullivan's right, before that officer was aware of his approach. The surprised general sent word to Washington of his perils, and immediately moved against the enemy. Before he could form his troops in battle order, the rested Britons attacked him. A severe battle ensued. For awhile the result was doubtful. Finally the right wing of the republicans under General De Borre gave way; then

the left under Sullivan. The centre, commanded by Stirling, remained firm for awhile, when it, too, gave way, and fled in confusion. Lafayette, who was with this corps, fighting on foot as a volunteer, was badly wounded in his leg. All efforts to rally the troops were vain, excepting a few who made a momentary stand near Dilworth, when they, too, fled, and with the other regiments ran over the hills in fragments toward the main army at Chad's Ford, closely pursued by the victors. Cornwallis's cannon had made dreadful havoc in the American ranks.

When the cannonade at the Birmingham meeting-house was heard by Washington, he went with Greene and two brigades which lay nearest the scene of action, to the support of the right wing. They made a swift march, met the fugitives, and by a skillful movement opened their ranks and received them and checked the pursuers by a constant fire of artillery. At a narrow defile the regiments of Stephen and Stewart held the British back until dark, when the latter encamped for the night. Meanwhile Knyphausen had crossed the Brandywine at Chad's Ford, where Wayne, in command of the left wing, defended the works gallantly for awhile; but when he saw the more numerous enemy getting in his rear, he abandoned his cannon and munitions of war and made a disorderly retreat behind the division of General Greene. At twilight there was a skirmish near Dilworth, between Maxwell and his light troops lying in ambush to cover the retreat of the American army, and some British grenadiers. The conflict was short, for darkness soon put an end to it.

The battle was now over. The Americans, defeated, marched leisurely to Chester. The British held the field, but did not pursue. On the following morning (September 12th, 1777), Washington gathered his army, marched toward Philadelphia, and encamped near Germantown. He had lost in killed, wounded and prisoners, almost a thousand men; the British loss was a little more than half that number. Brave men from abroad had fought and bled, on that day, some for the King and some for Liberty. In that battle, young Lafayette, the noblest and best friend of the Americans (not of their blood), in their struggle for independence, struck his first blow for the oppressed and for freedom. There, too, Pulaski, the generous Polander, first drew his sword in defence of the rights of man, in the western hemisphere, as commander of a troop of horse, and won from the Congress the commission of brigadier of cavalry. There, too, De Borre, Duplessis, De Fleury, and other Frenchmen showed the true metal of brave men.

The Congress was not dispirited by the defeat. Expecting to be again compelled to fly from Philadelphia, they reinvested Washington with a portion of the power with which they had clothed him nine months before.

They authorized him to direct General Putnam to send him fifteen hundred troops from the Hudson Highlands, and to summon continentals and militia from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Nor was Washington dispirited. Allowing his troops to rest only one day, he recrossed the Schuylkill and sought Howe to offer him battle. They met on the Lancaster road, about twenty miles from Philadelphia, and were about to engage in battle, when a storm of lightning, wind, and rain fell suddenly upon them, spoiled their ammunition, and prevented a severe fight. The rain continued all night, and before the dawn Howe withdrew and pushed on toward Philadelphia. Perceiving this, Washington crossed the Schuylkill at Parker's Ford, hoping to confront Howe at the crossing of the river below. The British eluded the Americans by a deceptive movement, and crossing the Schuylkill between Norristown and Valley Forge pushed on to Philadelphia and took possession of the city. Howe stationed the main division of his army at Germantown, and Washington encamped near Skippack Creek, about twenty miles from Philadelphia.

During the march of the Americans after the dispersion of the belligerents by the storm, General Wayne, at the head of a large body of republicans with two pieces of cannon, was engaged in striking British detachments and in endeavors to destroy Howe's baggage and supplies. While encamped on the night of the 20th, near the Paoli Tavern, he was attacked by General Grey with a strong British detachment, and in the desperate fight in the darkness that ensued, he lost nearly three hundred men, his cannon, and many small arms. As usual, the friends of Gates in the Congress blamed Washington for these losses, and for his later movements. Again John Adams, whose fault-finding pen was seldom idle, wrote concerning his crossing to the eastern side of the Schuylkill: "It is a very injudicious manœuvre. If he had sent one brigade of his regular troops to have headed the militia, he might have cut to pieces Howe's army in attempting to cross any of the fords. Howe will not attempt it. He will wait for his fleet in the Delaware River. O Heaven, grant us one great soul! One leading mind would extricate the best cause from that ruin which seems to await it." While Adams was writing, Howe did "attempt it," and crossing the Schuylkill, took possession of Philadelphia. The frightened Congress had again fled from that city. After being seated at Lancaster a few hours, they crossed the Susquehanna River to York, putting that stream between themselves and the enemy. There they remained until the British evacuated Philadelphia the following summer.

After the battle on the Brandywine, Lord Howe took his ships around to the mouth of the Delaware, to co-operate with his brother in the attempt

to capture Philadelphia. He sent some light-armed vessels up the river, which found obstructions in the channel at Byllinge's Point, several miles below Philadelphia, and a strong redoubt there to cover them. Other obstructions in the form of a strong *chevaux-de-frise* (sunken crates of stone with heavy spears of timber pointed with iron to receive vessels) were observed in the channel above, with forts near to protect them—Fort Mercer on the New Jersey shore, and Fort Mifflin on Mud Island near the mouth of the Schuylkill. General Howe had taken Philadelphia without the aid of the ships; but an open water communication, by which he might receive supplies, was of vital importance to him. His brother informed him that if the general would assist, with land troops, in the reduction of the post at Byllinge's Point (now Billingsport), he could clear the channel of obstructions. Sir William accordingly sent a strong detachment from his army for the purpose. The garrison at Byllinge's Point spiked their guns on the 2d of October, and the militia on the Jersey shore dispersed in alarm. Even from armed vessels above the *chevaux-de-frise* there were many desertions. Perceiving this weakening of the main British army at Germantown, and the importance of prompt action to prevent public despondency, Washington resolved to attack that army at once.

Howe's force stretched across the country at right angles with the main street at Germantown. On the front of the right were a battalion of light infantry and Simcoe's Queen's Rangers, a corps of American Loyalists. In advance of the left were other light infantry to support pickets on Mount Airy, and the extreme left was guarded by Hessian Yagers (riflemen). Near the large stone mansion of Chief Justice Chew (yet standing) at the head of the village, was a strong British regiment under Colonel Musgrave.

Washington, as we have observed, was then on Skippack Creek, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. It was arranged for the divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, to advance by way of Chestnut Hill, while Armstrong, with Pennsylvania militia, should make a circuit and gain the left and rear of the enemy. The divisions of Greene and Stephen, flanked by Macdougall's brigade (two-thirds of the whole army), were to make a circuitous march and attack the front of the British right wing, while the Maryland and New Jersey militia, under Smallwood and Forman, should fall upon the rear of that wing. Lord Stirling, with the brigades of Nash and Maxwell, were to form a reserve.

During the night of the 3d of October [1777], the American army made their march of fourteen miles, for Germantown, very stealthily. They tried to reach Chestnut Hill before daylight, but the roughness of the road prevented, and it was near sunrise when they emerged from the woods on

that eminence. The whole country was then enveloped in thick fog. Unperceived, until the critical moment, Washington's advance surprised the British pickets, and the troops of Sullivan and Wayne fell, with heavy force, upon the British infantry battalion in front. Before a storm of grape-shot, they were pushed back to their main line in much confusion. The cannonade startled Cornwallis, who was soundly sleeping in Philadelphia unsuspecting of an enemy being so near. Howe, too (near the army), was



LAFAYETTE.

awakened by the great guns, and arrived near the scene of conflict in time to meet his flying battalions. He turned from the front of the tempest, and hastened to his camp to prepare his troops for action. Musgrave sent a part of his regiment to support the retreating battalions, and with six companies he took refuge in Chew's strong house, barricaded the doors and lower windows, and made it a castle. From upper windows he delivered such fearful volleys of musketry upon Weedon's brigade, who were in pursuit of

the fugitives, that the march of the pursuers was checked. The fire of the American small arms upon the building was ineffectual.

A young officer bearing a flag with a message demanding a surrender of the "castle" was shot, when Maxwell's artillerists brought cannon to bear upon the building, but its strong walls resisted the heavy round shot. Then an attempt was made to burn the house, but failed. The check in the pursuit brought back Wayne's division which had advanced far beyond the house, and so left Sullivan's flank uncovered. This event, and the failure of Greene to attack at the time he was ordered to, disconcerted all the plans of the commander-in-chief. Very soon, however, Greene's troops, which had fallen into great confusion in the fog, in their march over the broken country which they passed, fell upon the British right, but their hopes of success were weakened by the failure of other troops to co-operate with them, by turning the British left; so the golden opportunity was lost.

The fog still continued. Parties of Americans frequently attacked each other as foes in the confusing mist. Each army was ignorant of the strength and real position of the other on the field; and it was afterward ascertained that while the attack on Chew's house was going on, the whole British army were on the point of giving up the fight, and crossing the Schuylkill to rendezvous at Chester. At that moment, General Grey discovered that his flanks were secure, and Knyphausen with his whole force marched to the assistance of the beleaguered garrison, under Musgrave, and the contending regiments in the village. For a short time a severe battle was maintained in the heart of Germantown. The patriots were unable to discern the number of their assailants. The cry of a trooper that they were surrounded produced a panic, and the Americans retreated in great confusion. This occurred after a very severe struggle for the mastery for almost three hours, and at a moment when the British general was contemplating a similar movement. The republicans lost in the battle over six hundred men killed, wounded and missing, and the British about eight hundred. The Americans returned to their camp on Skippack Creek, which they had left the evening before, and the British resumed their former position. Washington resolved to drive the British from Philadelphia before the winter should set in, but he was prevented, and his plans were frustrated, by the interference of Gates's friends in Congress.



CHAPTER LXXV.

Public Confidence in Washington and the Army—The Hessians Repulsed at Red Bank and Mud Island—Disobedience of Gates and Its Effects—Doings of a Faction in Congress in Favor of Gates—The Delaware Cleared of Obstructions—The American Army at Whitemarsh and Valley Forge—The British in Philadelphia—"Battle of the Kegs"—"Conway's Cabal" or Gates's Conspiracy—Plan for a National Government Adopted—Its Character.

THE retreat of the Americans from the battle-field at Germantown at the moment when victory seemed about to be secured to them, did not cause the Congress nor the people to blame Washington and his general officers. The fog that produced so much uncertainty in movements was the chief cause of the panic and flight; and the Congress, justly considering all things, passed a vote of thanks to the commander-in-chief for his "wise and well-considered attack," and to the "officers and soldiers of the army for their brave exertions on that occasion."

A few days after the battle, Lord Howe's fleet was anchored at the mouth of the Delaware River, and he and the general prepared to sweep that stream of all its obstructions—the *chevaux-de-frise*, the commanding forts at Red Bank and on Mud Island, the floating batteries, and the armed galleys. They were elated by their recent accidental victory, and did not entertain a doubt of success. The British army were at once concentrated at Philadelphia; but it was the middle of October before even a narrow channel was opened through the lower obstructions of the river. A difficult task lay before the enemy. Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, had a spirited little garrison under Colonel Christopher Greene of Rhode Island; and Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island, was in charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Smith, of Maryland, with an equally spirited body of men.

To strengthen his own army, Howe ordered General Clinton to abandon the forts in the Hudson Highlands and send six thousand troops to Philadelphia. He had scarcely issued this order when the news of the surrender of Burgoyne reached the British commander-in-chief. That event filled the American camp with joy, and that of the enemy with amazement. Howe perceived that what he had to do must be done quickly; so he ordered

Count Donop to take Fort Mercer by storm. The Hessian colonel, eager for renown, marched against it on the 22d of October (1777), with about twelve hundred men—German grenadiers, infantry, riflemen, and artillery. At the edge of a wood within cannon-shot of the fort, they planted a battery of ten heavy guns; and at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, Donop sent a summons for the instant surrender of the garrison, accompanied by a threat that, in case of resistance, no quarter would be given. Colonel Greene, the commander, with only four hundred men back of him,



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made an instant and defiant refusal, saying: "We ask no quarter nor will we give any." Then the besiegers opened their heavy guns; and under their fire they carried the *abatiss* or the land side of the fort. There they encountered many pitfalls, and a heavy storm of bullets and grape-shot from a concealed battery. Equally severe was an enfilading fire from two other galleys hidden by the bushes. These fearfully slaughtered the assailants. Donop and many of his officers were killed or mortally wounded; and at twilight the invaders withdrew, after a loss of two hundred men, and were not pursued. The Congress ordered the Board of War to present an elegant sword to Colonel Greene, for his gallant defence of Fort Mercer; and some New Jersey and Pennsylvania volunteers erected a monument of blue-veined marble on the site of the fort, in 1829, to commemorate the deed. Colonel Greene was soon afterward murdered at his quarters in Westchester county, N. Y., by a band of Tories, and the sword was presented to his family.

Some British ships-of-war that came to assist in the reduction of Fort Mercer, attacked Fort Mifflin the next morning. After being severely cannonaded from the fort and the American vessels, they attempted to retreat down the river, when the *Augusta*, a 64-gun ship, and the frigate *Merlin*, grounded. The former was set on fire by red-hot shot from the American batteries, and was blown up with a part of her crew. The *Merlin* was set on fire and abandoned. These events inspirited the Americans; and John Adams took the occasion to help Gates in his ambitious intrigues against Washington, by saying: "Thank God the glory is not immediately due to the commander-in-chief, or idolatry and adulation would have been so excessive as to endanger our liberties."

When full knowledge of the events of Burgoyne's surrender became known, it was perceived that Gates had no use for a large army in the north. The public interest impatiently demanded that he should send a greater part of his Continental troops to assist Washington in reducing Howe to the condition of Burgoyne. But this patriotic course might thwart the ambitious schemes of the commander in the north and his friends, who seemed willing to have the sun of Washington's renown eclipsed by disaster, that Gates's more feeble orb might appear to be the brighter luminary. Washington directed Gates to forward heavy reinforcements as speedily as possible. The latter, with false pretences, held them back. Amazed at this positive disobedience, so nearly resembling the treason of Lee, the commander-in-chief sent his ever trusty aid, Colonel Alexander Hamilton, to acquaint Gates, in person, with the urgent necessity of sending forward troops immediately. Gates still hesitated. The acute Hamilton plainly saw the reason, and he used such plain language toward the conspirator, that Gates, startled, sent large reinforcements down the Hudson immediately. Hamilton followed soon afterward, and was amazed to find these troops detained by General Putnam below the Highlands. At Gates's instigation, the veteran, believing he might win personal glory by the expulsion of the British from New York city, had actually advanced with his army as far down as White Plains, on the foolish errand. Acting under the advice of Governor Clinton, Hamilton spoke authoritatively in the name of Washington, and arrested the wild expedition. But these delays had frustrated the well-laid plans of Washington for capturing or expelling the whole British army. At the same time the powerful Gates faction in the Congress had caused legislation in that body which was calculated to dishonor the commander-in-chief and restrain his military operations. They forbade him to detach more than twenty-five hundred men from the Northern Army without first consulting General Gates and Governor Clinton, and so making him subservient to his inferiors

in rank. The Adamses and Gerry of Massachusetts, and Marchant of Rhode Island, actually voted for a resolution forbidding Washington to detach *any* troops from that Department, excepting by consent of Gates and Clinton. The Congress also ordered Gates to "regain the forts and passes on the Hudson," which Washington had already deprived the British of, by pressing Howe so closely that he ordered Sir Henry Clinton, as we have observed, to abandon them and send reinforcements to the Delaware. This afforded Gates an excuse for keeping back the troops which he had sent down the Hudson. So the war was prolonged by a faction.

Howe soon made another effort to gain possession of the Delaware River. He planted five batteries, with an aggregate of thirty pieces of cannon, within five hundred yards of Fort Mifflin. A large floating battery was brought up the river; and on the 10th of November the British opened heavy guns from these, upon the fort. The siege was a fearful one, and continued six days. On the second day, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, the commander of the fort, was wounded and taken over to Fort Mercer, when the leadership devolved first upon Colonel Russell, of Connecticut, and then upon Major Thayer of Rhode Island, who was well supported by Major Fleury, the French engineer. The garrison held out bravely under an incessant cannonade and bombardment. On the 15th, some British vessels with heavy guns, approached near enough for hand-grenades to be thrown from them into the fort. Five ships-of-war took positions to keep off the American flotilla, and to fire a broadside occasionally upon Fort Mifflin. During that day, more than a thousand shot and shell were hurled upon the works on Mud Island, from 12 to 32-pounders; and a storming party were made ready to attack the fort on the morning of the 16th. In the darkness of the preceding evening, Major Thayer sent all of the garrison, excepting forty men, to Fort Mercer, and he, with these, followed at midnight. The fort had become untenable, and was abandoned in time to save the remnant of the garrison, which had lost about two hundred and fifty men, killed or wounded. Washington's army was then encamped at Whitemarsh, in a beautiful valley, about fourteen miles from Philadelphia, where he waited, in much anxiety, for the result of the attack on Fort Mifflin.

Fort Mercer was yet in possession of the Americans. Cornwallis was sent with two thousand men, by way of Byllinge Point, to attack the post. The vigilant Washington immediately sent General Greene, with his division, by way of Burlington, to join some American troops in New Jersey and give battle to the enemy. Greene was accompanied by Lafayette, and expected to be reinforced by troops from the Hudson River. He was disappointed, while Cornwallis was joined by five British battalions from New



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York. General Greene was compelled to abandon the plan of fighting the invaders, and the commander of Fort Mercer (Colonel Greene), seeing no hope of help, evacuated the works, leaving his artillery as trophies for the enemy. Cornwallis levelled the ramparts of Fort Mercer and returned to Philadelphia, and the American troops in New Jersey crossed the Delaware and joined Washington at Whitemarsh.

A few of the American vessels escaped up the river, in the night, but seventeen of them were abandoned and burned by their crews. The river obstructions and the shore defences were scattered to the waves and winds; and on the 11th of December, Washington broke up his encampment at Whitemarsh, and proceeded with his whole force to Valley Forge, about twenty miles northward of Philadelphia. He had been joined by troops from the north; and only a few days before, he had repulsed a British force, fourteen thousand strong, who came out on an intensely cold night (December 4, 1777) to surprise him. There was a sharp fight at Edge Hill; and after threatening the American camp at various points, the British withdrew and returned to Philadelphia. Washington's whole army did not number more than eleven thousand men, of whom only about seven thousand were fit for field duty. He chose Valley Forge as a place for a winter encampment, because it was further from the danger of sudden attacks from the enemy, and where he might more easily protect the Congress at York and his stores at Reading.

Members of Congress and the Pennsylvania Legislature, moved by impulse more than by judgment, had been clamorous for an immediate attack upon the British in Philadelphia, who had strongly fortified every important way of approach to that city. But Washington, sustained by a large majority of his general officers, disregarded all querulous fault-finding. His troops were in great distress, because of a lack of shoes and clothing, when they evacuated Whitemarsh. Many of them made the fatiguing journey to Valley Forge over hard frozen ground and through snow, barefooted, leaving blood spots on the white carpet trodden by their lacerated feet. Upon the slopes of a narrow valley on the borders of the winding Susquehanna, they were encamped with no shelter but rude log-huts, during a very severe winter. There the little army shivered with cold and almost starved with hunger, while the British army were indulging in comforts and luxuries in a large city. Yet the patriotism of that republican army was not cooled, nor their aspirations for liberty starved; nor did the commander-in-chief suffer a doubt of success to cloud his spirits, for he knew the cause to be a righteous one, and believed that God would give final victory to the oppressed. In all the world's history, we have no record of purer devotion, holier sincerity

or more pious self-sacrifice, than was exhibited in the camp of Washington during the winter of 1777 and 1778. At the same time the British army were as much weakened by indulgence as were the republican troops by privations. Profligacy begat disease, crime, and insubordination. The evil effects of these led Dr. Franklin to say: "Howe did not take Philadelphia—Philadelphia took Howe."



MARCH TO VALLEY FORGE.

It was during that winter that the amusing circumstance occurred which drew from the pen of Francis Hopkinson his famous satirical poem entitled "The Battle of the Kegs." In January (1778), while the channel of the Delaware was yet free of ice, some Whigs at Bordentown sent floating down the river a few kegs filled with gunpowder, and so arranged with machinery, that on rubbing against an object, they would explode. It was hoped that some of these torpedoes, touching a British vessel, might explode and sink it. One of them, touching some floating ice in front of the city, blew up, and produced intense alarm. Hopkinson, in his satire, says:

"Now up and down, throughout the town,
Most frantic scenes were acted;

And some ran here, and others there,
 Like men almost distracted.
 Some *Fire!* cried, which some denied,
 But said the earth had quakéd;
 And girls and boys, with hideous noise,
 Ran through the streets half-naked."

For twenty-four hours afterward, not a chip or stick could float down the stream without being fired at by musket or cannon by the British:

"The cannons roar from shore to shore,
 The small-arms loud did rattle;
 Since wars began, I'm sure no man
 E'er saw so strange a battle."

At that time occurred that episode in our history known as "Conway's Cabal"—a conspiracy to ruin the reputation of Washington, and to make Gates the commander-in-chief of the armies, of which intimations have been given in this work from time to time. The conspirators labored in secret, by means of forged and anonymous letters, and slanderous reports, to weaken the public confidence in Washington as a leader. Failing to effect their object by these means (for he was every day rising higher and higher in public esteem), it was determined to abridge his influence and extend that of Gates, by creating a new Board of War, with the latter officer as president. This was effected late in November, 1777. The Board was invested with large powers, and by delegated authority, assumed the control of military affairs, which properly belonged to the province of the commander-in-chief. It was evident that the Congress intended to make Gates the master-spirit of the war, for, by a resolution, that body instructed their president to inform the general of his appointment to an office "upon the right execution of which the success of the American cause does eminently depend," and that it was the "intention of Congress to continue his rank as major-general in the army, and that he officiate at the Board, or in the field, as occasion may require." His partisans in the Congress hastened to assure him that he would soon be the virtual commander-in-chief.

The conspiracy to this end was made more active when, at the middle of October, Washington wrote a letter to Richard Henry Lee, in which he spoke plainly concerning Brigadier-General Conway, a French officer of Irish lineage, who, it was rumored, was about to be appointed by the Congress a major-general in the Continental Army. "It will be as unfortunate a measure as ever was adopted," Washington wrote. "I may add, and I think with truth, that it will give a fatal blow to the existence of the army. Upon

so interesting a subject, I must speak plainly. The duty I owe my country, the ardent desire I have to promote its true interests, and justice to individuals, require this of me. General Conway's merit, then, as an officer, and his importance in the army, exists more in his own imagination than in reality; for it is a maxim with him to leave no service of his own untold nor to want anything which is to be obtained by importunity." Washington's chief reasons for apprehending disaster from the promotion of Conway, was the fact that he was the youngest brigadier in the army, and his exaltation over all the eldest would create dangerous dissatisfaction. "In a word," he wrote, "the service is so difficult, and every necessary so expensive, that almost all of our officers are tired out. Do not, therefore, afford them good pretexts for retiring. No day passes over my head without applications for leave to resign. Within the last six days, I am certain twenty commissions at least have been tendered to me." He added: "I have undergone more than most men are aware of, to harmonize so many discordant parts; but it will be impossible for me to be of any further service, if such insuperable difficulties are thrown in my way."

Conway was informed of Washington's opposition to his promotion. His malice was aroused, and he became such a conspicuous instrument in promoting the conspiracy of Gates, that the affair became known as "Conway's Cabal." His pen and tongue were exceedingly active. He wrote anonymous letters to members of Congress, to Patrick Henry (then governor of Virginia), and, it is believed, to the presidents of several State legislatures, filled with complaints, insinuations and false statements, in which the recent disasters to Washington's army were attributed to the incapacity and ill-timed policy of the commander-in-chief. He did his best to sow the seeds of discontent among the officers of the army, and succeeded in a degree. He caused several officers to write letters to Gates that fed the conspirator's vanity and confirmed his hopes of success in his undertaking. Conway himself wrote to Gates, saying in substance: "Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it." Colonel Joseph Reed wrote to him: "This army, notwithstanding the efforts of our amiable chief, has, as yet, gathered no laurels. I perfectly agree with that sentiment which leads to request your assistance." General Sullivan, Washington's second in command, who well knew the opinion of his chief and other officers concerning Conway—of Greene and others who had pronounced him "worthless"—was induced to write to a member of Congress in favor of the French officer being appointed inspector-general of the army, with the rank of major-general; and the impetuous Wayne expressed his intention to "follow the line pointed out by the conduct of Lee, Gates,

and Mifflin." Mr. Lovell, a delegate in Congress from Massachusetts, wrote a letter to Gates, in which, after threatening Washington with "the mighty torrent of public clamor and vengeance," said: "How different your conduct and your fortune! this army will be totally lost unless you come down and collect the virtuous band who wish to fight under your banner." Again Lovell wrote: "We want you in different places; we want you most near Germantown [in Washington's place]. Good God, what a situation we are in! how different from what might have been justly expected!" Dr. Benjamin Rush, in a letter to Patrick Henry, a little later (to which he did not sign his name), after declaring that the army at Valley Forge had no general at its head, said: "A Gates, a Lee, or a Conway, would in a few weeks render them an irresistible body of men. Some of the contents of this letter ought to be made public, in order to awaken, enlighten, and alarm our country." Henry showed his contempt for the anonymous writer, by his silence, and by sending the letter to Washington. Rush's hand-writing betrayed him.

Through the loose tongue of Wilkinson, Gates's favorite aide, Washington heard of the disparaging words in Conway's letter, and he immediately let that officer know the fact. A personal interview ensued between them, when Conway justified his words and made no apology. He afterward boasted to Mifflin of his defiance of the commander-in-chief. Mifflin was then a member of the new Board of War, of which Gates was president. Piqued because of the just complaints of his neglect of duty as quartermaster-general, by the commander-in-chief, he entered heartily into the conspiracy. When telling Gates of Conway's defiance of Washington, Mifflin said the letter of the French general was "a collection of just sentiments;" and Gates wrote to Conway: "You acted with all the dignity of a virtuous soldier;" at the same time he expressed a wish that "so valuable and polite an officer might remain in the service." Conway had offered his resignation; the Gates faction in Congress soon procured his appointment, by that body, to the office of inspector-general with the rank of major-general, and made him independent of the commander-in-chief. The conspirators hoped, by these indignities, to cause Washington to resign. But the beloved Patriot bore all with patience. He wrote to Henry Laurens from the snows of Valley Forge: "My enemies take an ungenerous advantage of me. They know the delicacy of my situation, and that motives of policy deprive me of the defence I might otherwise make against their insidious attacks. They know I cannot combat their insinuations, however injurious, without disclosing secrets which it is of the utmost moment to conceal."

After Conway's interview with Washington, the conspiracy took a more

vigorous form. In consultation with that officer, and without the knowledge of the chief, the Board of War arranged a plan for a winter campaign against Canada. Hoping to detach Lafayette from Washington, they appointed him commander-in-chief of the expedition. The marquis, who was aware of the intrigues, asked Washington's advice in the matter. The chief said it was an honorable position, and advised him to accept the commission. Lafayette went to the Congress, sitting at York, to obtain it, and there he met Gates, Mifflin, and other members of the Board of War, at table. Wine circulated freely, and toasts were offered. At length the marquis, thinking it time to show his colors, arose and said: "Gentlemen, one toast, I perceive, has been omitted, which I will now propose." They filled their glasses, when he gave: "The commander-in-chief of the American armies." The coldness with which that toast was received, confirmed Lafayette's worst opinions of the men around him. These were heightened when he found that Conway was appointed his second in command. He procured the appointment of De Kalb to that position, making Conway the third, which dissatisfied that officer.

The whole expedition was manifestly a trick of Gates to get Lafayette away from Washington, and to promote Conway. He had assured the marquis that three thousand troops would await his coming, at Albany, with ample munitions, and that Stark by that time would have destroyed the British vessels at St. Johns. Not more than a thousand soldiers, including a regiment which Gates ordered from Washington's weak army, were at Albany when the marquis arrived, and Stark was waiting for orders. Clothing and transportation were wanting. Lafayette was disgusted. "I fancy," he wrote, "the actual scheme is to get me out of this part of the country, and General Conway as chief, under the immediate command of Gates." The conspirators found they could not use Lafayette, and the expedition was abandoned. Conway's resignation was unexpectedly, by him, accepted by the Congress. The leaders in the conspiracy, disconcerted by events, hastened to disclaim all intention to elevate Gates to the place of Washington in official station. But the circumstantial proofs of their intentions to do so are too abundant to admit of a doubt. Mercy Warren, a warm personal friend of Samuel Adams, apologized, in her history of the war, for his being found in the company of the conspirators, saying: "Zealous and ardent in his defence of his injured country, he was startled at everything that seemed to retard the operations of the war, or impede the success of the Revolution." Alexander Hamilton, in a letter to Governor Clinton in February, 1778, deplored the weakness of the Congress at the beginning of that year. "America," he wrote, "once had a representation that would do

honor to any age or nation. The present falling off is very alarming and dangerous. What is the cause? and how is it to be remedied? are questions that the welfare of these States requires should be well attended to."

At this time, when the Congress was sitting at York, that body resumed the consideration of a plan for establishing a national government, on the basis of a Federal union of the several States. We have observed that Franklin presented a plan in the summer of 1775, upon which no action was taken. On the 11th of June, 1776, a committee, with John Dickenson at their head, were appointed to devise a plan. They reported a draft a month later, when the subject was laid aside, and was not taken up again until April, 1777. From that time until late in the ensuing fall, the subject was debated in Congress two or three times a week. In these debates the conflicting interests of the several States were made conspicuous. Finally, after making several amendments, the Congress adopted *Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union*, on the 15th of November, 1777, giving to the Confederacy the title of *The United States of America*. The following is the substance of the provisions of the league:

That all should engage in a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendship, for mutual advantage, each to assist the other, when help should be needed; that each State should have the right to regulate its own internal affairs; that no State should separately send or receive embassies, begin any negotiations, contract engagements or alliances, or conclude treaties with any foreign power, without the consent of the General Congress; that no public officer should be allowed to accept any presents, emoluments, office or title from any foreign power, and that neither Congress nor State governments should possess the power to confer any title of nobility; that none of the States should have the right to form alliances among themselves, without the consent of Congress; that they should not have the power to levy duties contrary to the enactments of Congress; that no State should keep up a standing army or ships-of-war, in time of peace, beyond the armament stipulated by Congress; that when any of the States should raise troops for the common defence, all the officers of the rank of colonel and under should be appointed by the legislature of the State, and the superior officers by Congress; that all the expenses of the war should be paid out of the public Treasury; that Congress alone, should have the power to coin money; and that Canada might, at any time, be admitted into the confederacy, when the people there felt disposed to do so. There were some other clauses that were explanatory of the power of certain governmental operations, and contained details of the same.

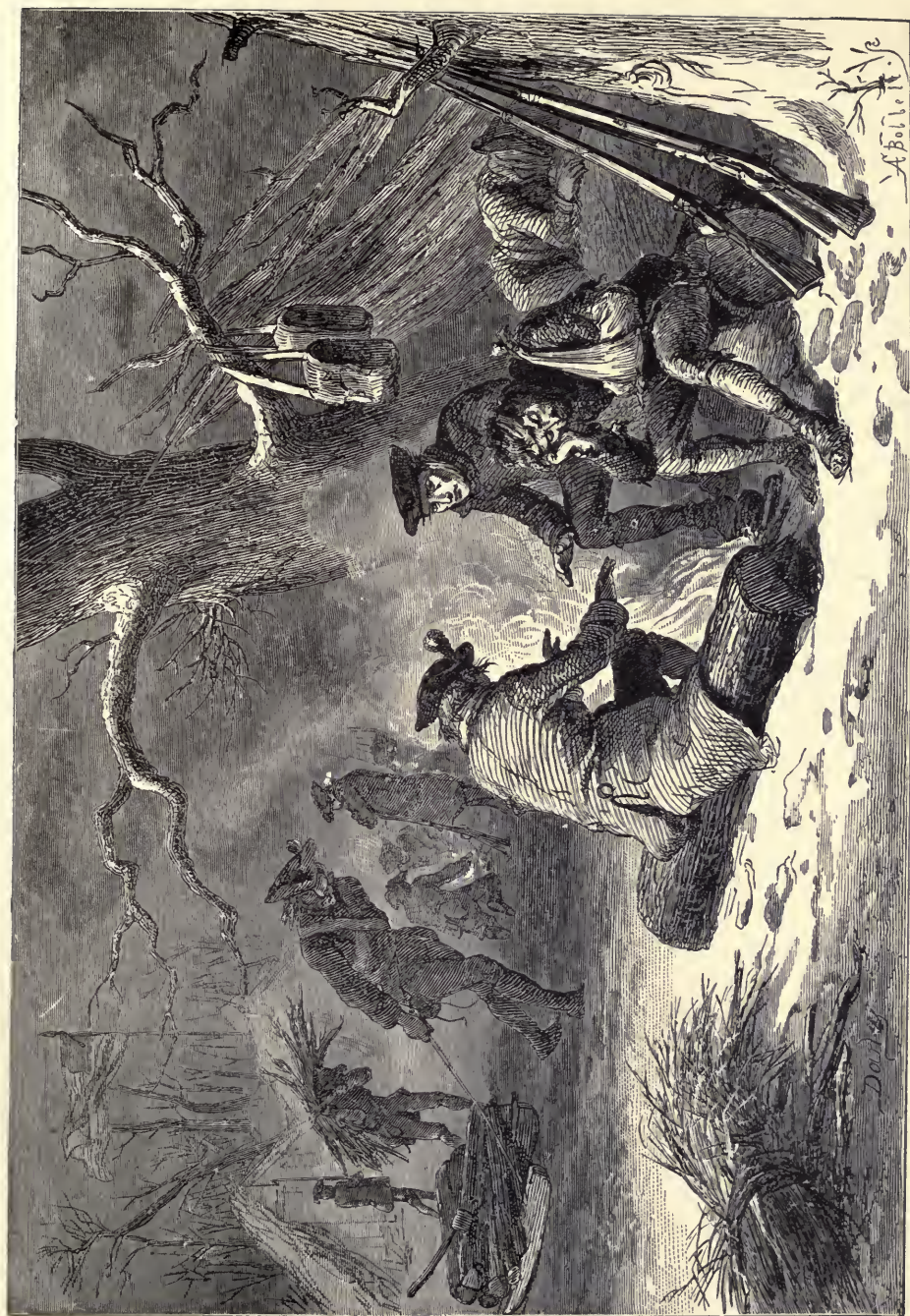
This plan of a national government was submitted to the legislatures of

the several States for their ratification. They were slow to act. Notwithstanding there was a general feeling that *something* should be done for the maintenance of union after the cohesion created by the common danger of a state of war should be relaxed, there was a jealousy on the part of the States, of a central power that might claim supremacy. The people had become accustomed to the ideas of *right*, simply, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence, and hesitated to accept declared *power*, as promulgated by the *Articles of Confederation*. The former was based upon the dogmas of a "superintending Providence and the inalienable rights of man ; the latter relied upon the sovereignty of declared power, ascending from the foundation of human government to the laws of nature and of nature's God, written upon the heart of man ; the other resting upon the basis of human institutions and prescriptive law, and colonial charters."

An objectionable system of representation was proposed, by which each State was entitled to the same voice in the Congress, whatever might be the difference in population. Most objectionable of all were a provision for the limits of the several States, and the taking no notice of the important question, In whom is invested the control and possession of the public lands? These, and other grave defects in the plan, caused most of the States to hesitate, at first, to adopt the *Articles*, and for a long time several of them refused to do so.

Late in June, 1778, the Congress proceeded to consider the objections offered, and on the 27th of that month, a form of ratification was adopted and ordered to be engrossed upon parchment to be signed by such delegates as might be instructed to do so by their respective legislatures. These were signed on the 9th of July by the delegates of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina. The delegates from other States afterwards signed at various times ; but the legislature of Maryland refused to ratify, until the question of the conflicting claims of the Union and of the separate States to the public lands should be fully adjusted. This was finally accomplished, by the cession of claiming States, to the United States, of all unsettled and unappropriated public lands for the benefit of the whole Union. In this act originated our Territorial system.

The government thus formed was radically defective, and soon failed to accomplish the objects for which it was created, as we shall observe hereafter, because the *people* were not recognized as sovereign ; only the several *States*. It was an attempt to reconcile partial supremacy in the Union with the absolute supremacy of each State. It was a crude embryo act of which a more perfect national government was evolved.



THE AMERICAN TROOPS AT VALLEY FORGE.



CHAPTER LXXVI.

The Army at Valley Forge—Proceedings in the British Parliament—Beaumarchais and the Americans—A Serious Misunderstanding—Effects of Burgoyne's Surrender in France—Treaty between France and the United States—Franklin's Reception at Court, and His Popularity—Voltaire—Acts of the British Government—Conciliatory Bills—Rupture Between France and England—American Detachments Attacked—Committee at Valley Forge—Congress and the Soldiers—Steuben—The Treaty Received at Valley Forge—Conciliatory Bills and the Americans—The Peace Commissioners.

THE joy that thrilled the bosoms of the American patriots when the news of Burgoyne's surrender went over the land, was succeeded by doubts and gloomy forebodings at the opening of the fourth year of the war, 1778. The effects of that surrender upon the public mind in Europe were not then known in America; and the military events which had succeeded it here were calculated to produce a great depression of spirits. The little army of Washington, then building log-huts at Valley Forge, had just passed through a season of great trial, and their own patriotism and that of their leader had been proven by severest tests. Their ranks were shattered and weak; a condition largely due to the neglect of the Congress, remissness in duty of the late quartermaster-general, faction in high places, and the intrigues of ambitious men. Almost three thousand soldiers of that little, suffering army were unfit for duty, because they were barefooted and half-naked. Multitudes were compelled to doze around fires all night, because they did not possess a bed or a blanket to lie upon; and many who were favored with these were made sick by exposure to dampness, because they had no means of raising their beds from the ground. Not more than six thousand men were prepared to take the field; yet there were clamors in the Congress and the Pennsylvania legislature for a winter campaign against the British in Philadelphia. The commander-in-chief was followed to Valley Forge by a remonstrance from the Council and Assembly of Pennsylvania against his going into winter-quarters at all. To this unreasonable reproof Washington made a firm but modest reply, stating the condition of his troops and the causes, and saying: "Gentlemen reprobate the going into winter-quarters as if they thought the soldiers were stocks and stones. I can assure those gentlemen that it is a much easier and less

distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow without clothes or blankets. However, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, *I* feel superabundantly for them; and from my soul *I* pity their miseries, which it is neither in my power to relieve or prevent."

Let us here pause in our narrative of military and civil movements in America, and briefly consider events bearing upon the great struggle then occurring in Europe.

The British Parliament assembled on the 18th of November. They had not heard of Howe's success on the borders of the Brandywine, nor of Bur-



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goyne's disasters at Saratoga. They knew that Howe had been compelled to retire from New Jersey, and gloomy forebodings occupied their minds. They knew that American commissioners were kindly received at the French court, and they dreaded a possible alliance of that nation with the insurgent subjects of Great Britain in America. The stubborn king, in his opening speech from the throne, declared his intention to prosecute the war against the "rebels," without regard to the waste of blood and treasure. He alluded to the increased armaments of France and Spain, and, urging his people to make provision of larger means for carrying on the war in America, he expressed a hope that the "deluded and unhappy multitude in the colonies" might speedily cease their resistance and return to their allegiance.

A corresponding address to the king was proposed in Parliament, when the heaviest batteries of the Opposition in both houses were brought to bear upon the ministry. In the House of Lords, the Earl of Chatham (William Pitt), who strongly desired reconciliation with the Americans and was as strongly opposed to their independence, leaning upon a crutch, poured forth a flood of oratory such as distinguished him in the prime of his vigorous manhood. He opposed the further prosecution of the "inhuman war," and pleaded earnestly for conciliatory measures. He charged the ministry with lack of courage to sustain the honor of the nation, because they had allowed to pass unnoticed, what he called an insult to his government by the French court, in receiving, on friendly terms, the ambassadors of the insurgent Americans. "Can our ministers," he asked, "sustain a more humiliating disgrace? Do they dare to resent it? Do they presume even to hint at a vindication of their honor, and the dignity of the State, by requiring the dismissal of the plenipotentiaries of America?" Alluding to the ill-success of the British arms in this country, he said: "You cannot—I venture to say it—you cannot conquer America. What is your present condition there? We do not know the worst, but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing and suffered much. . . . You may swell every expense and every effort, still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince; your efforts are forever vain and impotent—doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your enemies—to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder; devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never—never—never!" With equal vehemence Chatham condemned the employment of the American savages "to wage the horrors of this barbarous war." A member justified the employment of Indians, by saying that the British had the right to use the means "which God and nature had given them." Chatham scornfully repeated the passage, and said: "These abominable principles, and this most abominable avowal of them, demands most decisive indignation. I call upon that reverend bench (pointing to the Bishops), these holy ministers of the Gospel and pious pastors of the Church—I conjure them to join in the holy work, and to vindicate the religion of their God."

In the House of Commons, Burke, Fox, and Barré were equally severe in their denunciations; and when, on the 3d of December, news reached London of the defeat of the British in northern New York, the latter rose

in his place, and with a serene and solemn countenance, asked Germain, the Colonial Secretary, what news he had received by his last express from Quebec, and to say, upon his word of honor, what had become of Burgoyne and his brave army. The haughty Secretary was irritated by the cool irony of the question, but he was compelled to admit that information of Burgoyne's surrender had reached him. He added—"It lacks confirmation." That confirmation speedily came, and Lord North was overwhelmed with grief. He could neither eat nor sleep. He saw in the event the result of the unwise measures of his sovereign, which he had sanctioned in opposition to the dictates of his own conscience and judgment; and he proposed to



LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

EDMUND BURKE.

COLONEL BARRE.

end the quarrel by conceding all that the Americans asked, or retire from the cabinet. It was perceived by all but the stupid and obstinate king and a few shallow courtiers that something must be done immediately toward reconciliation, or France would interfere. Leaders in both houses agreed with North. Fox said: "If no better terms can be had, I would treat with them as allies, nor do I fear the consequences of their independence." The king would not yield an iota of his pretensions to absolute sovereignty over the Americans. In turn he chided and coaxed the pliant North, when, finding his minister less yielding than usual, he conceded so much to his feelings as to suggest that in the event of a war with France and Spain (which then seemed probable) the royal troops might be withdrawn from the American provinces and employed in making war upon the French and Spanish islands. North yielded, and preparations for the campaign of 1778, against the Americans, went on vigorously.

Meanwhile events of great importance to the struggling patriots had taken place in France. We have already noticed (page 888) the efforts of Beaumarchais in behalf of the Americans, and the joint mission of Franklin, Deane and Lee, to the French court. We have observed that early in 1777, the commissioners proposed a treaty with France for mutual benefit in peace and war, and so took the initial step in the foreign diplomacy of the United States. Already the French government, in response to the efforts of Beaumarchais and Deane, had furnished essential material aid for the Americans, from the public treasury and arsenals. It was done secretly through Beaumarchais, who, as the agent of the government, opened a large commercial house in Paris, under the firm name of Rodriguez, Hortales & Co.; and by the use of money received from both France and Spain for the purpose, he sent three ship-loads of supplies to the Americans, in time to be used for the summer campaign of 1777. This mercantile disguise enabled Vergennes, the French minister, to say, with truth, at the end of the fourth year of the war: "The king has furnished nothing; he simply permitted M. Beaumarchais to be provided with articles from the arsenals upon condition of replacing them."

Out of these transactions grew much embarrassment. At an early stage of Mr. Deane's negotiations with the French, Arthur Lee of Virginia, an ambitious young man then in London, and who fell in with Beaumarchais there, informed the Congress through his brother, Richard Henry Lee, that Vergennes had sent an agent to him with the assurance that, while the French government would not then think of going to war with Great Britain, they were ready to furnish the Americans with arms and ammunition to the value of almost a million dollars. This statement was untrue, and was very mischievous, leading the Congress to believe that the supplies afterward sent by Beaumarchais were gratuities of the French monarch. This belief prevailed until the close of 1778, when, on inquiry being made of Vergennes, by Franklin, the above answer was given by that minister. Thomas Paine, minister for foreign affairs, at Philadelphia, believed it, and said so in a newspaper quarrel with Silas Deane, when the startled Congress, unwilling to compromise the French court, said by resolution, in January, 1779, that they "had never received any species of military stores as a present from the court of France or from any other court or person in Europe," and dismissed Paine from his office. Beaumarchais afterward claimed payment from the Congress for every article he had forwarded. This claim caused a lawsuit which lasted about fifty years. It was settled in 1835 by the payment to the heirs of Beaumarchais by our government, the sum of over two hundred thousand dollars.

When the news of the surrender of Burgoyne reached France, Beaumarchais, who had then sent supplies for the Americans to the amount of almost a million dollars, found himself in financial embarrassment by lack of remittances of funds from the Congress, which he had expected. That body had been deceived by the falsehoods and slanders of Lee, and had not only withheld remittances, but had not acknowledged the receipt of supplies. Beaumarchais sent an agent to America, that autumn, to seek justice, who wrote back that Lee's untruthfulness was the cause of all the trouble. Just then tidings reached Paris that the Americans had captured Burgoyne's whole army. The news filled the French capital with great joy. It was perceived that the Americans could help themselves. France saw this, and also perceived that they might be her very useful allies in the evidently impending war with Great Britain. So the French government resolved to give the patriots more substantial, material, and moral aid than ever before, by acknowledging the independence of the United States and forming a treaty of alliance with them. Beaumarchais's mission was ended. On the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance was concluded with the French government, by the American commissioners. This treaty was effected secretly; and before the fact was known at the British court, Dr. Franklin, then seventy-two years of age, was greeted as the American ambassador at the French court, and M. Gerard was appointed to represent France at the seat of government of the United States. So was begun that alliance which speedily led to a war on sea and land between the French and English.

Franklin and his colleagues were presented to the king and queen at Versailles, on the 20th of March. Willing to comply with the court etiquette on such occasions, the republican ambassador sent for a wig, and contemplated ordering a suit of blue velvet and lace. No wig in Paris would fit his capacious head; so he resolved to appear in his baldness, with his thin gray hair hanging down upon his shoulders. So he did appear in defiance of the chamberlain and fashion. Clad in an elegant suit of black velvet made as plain as one he would have worn at an evening party in Philadelphia, with white cambric ruffles in his bosom and at his wrists, white silk stockings and silver shoe-buckles, he won the admiration of all beholders in that brilliant assembly. The beautiful young queen bestowed her sweetest smiles upon him, and kept him near her person as much as possible during the audience. In one of the saloons of Paris a few evenings afterward, he was the centre of attraction. His defiance of etiquette charmed the Parisians. The ladies pressed around the Philosopher, and more enthusiastic ones saluted him with kisses on his forehead. The king was irritated by

these attentions, for he despised republicans, and only consented to be their ally in war for the benefit of France. Voltaire, who, at the age of eighty-four, had just arrived in Paris after a long exile, was not more popular than Franklin. They soon became personal friends, for Voltaire espoused the cause of the Americans. Franklin venerated him for his wisdom, and bade his grandson, a tall youth, ask the philosopher's blessing. The venerable man placed his hand on the lad's head and gave it in these words: *God and Liberty*.

The position now assumed by France toward the Americans greatly embarrassed the British ministry, and even the king was disposed to yield a little. Eleven days after the treaty was concluded at Paris, Lord North presented two conciliatory bills to Parliament. One declared the government did not intend to exercise the right of imposing taxes in America, and proposed to make almost every concession which the Americans had demanded two years before—even not to insist upon the renunciation of their independence; the other authorized the king to send commissioners to America to treat for reconciliation and peace. Mr. Hartley, a confidant of Lord North, sent copies of these bills to Dr. Franklin. The ambassador, with the knowledge of Vergennes, sent word back that if the king wished to treat with the Americans on terms of perfect equality, the desired result might be obtained by sending commissioners to the representatives of the United States in Paris. The French king fearing a reconciliation might take place, and so thwart his plans for using the Americans for the glory of France, hastened to officially inform the British government, through the French minister in London, of the treaty between that country and the United States. That minister, acting under instructions, in his note to the British government, spoke of the United States as being in "full possession of independence," and declared that his king was determined "to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag," and had, "in consequence, taken effectual measures in concert with the Thirteen United and Independent States of America."

These offensive words—offensive as they were intended to be—were construed by the British government as a virtual declaration of war on the part of France; and the British minister at the French court was immediately recalled. Meanwhile the Conciliatory Bills had become laws, after much opposition in Parliament, chiefly because they allowed the Americans to assume the position of an independent nation. It would virtually be a dismemberment of the British empire, and this Chatham and his friends vehemently opposed. Afterward, when leaders of the opposition proposed, as a means for detaching the Americans from the French, to declare their independence,

a most violent debate arose. That was early in April. Chatham had not appeared in the House of Lords for some time. Now his political friends urged him to be there. He appeared on the 7th of April, smothered in flannel and leaning upon two friends. He was pale and emaciated, and appeared like a dying man. Under his great wig, little more might be seen than his aquiline nose and peering eyes. He arose to speak. Leaning upon crutches, and supported by two friends, he raised one hand, and casting his eyes toward heaven, said: "I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day—to perform my duty, and to speak upon a subject which has so deeply impressed my mind. I am old and infirm. I have one foot, more than one foot, in the grave; I am risen from my bed to stand up in the cause of my country—perhaps never again to speak in this House. . . . My Lords, I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy." His voice, at first feeble, rose in vehemence as he proceeded, and he made a most effective speech. The Duke of Richmond spoke in opposition to Chatham's arguments, and when he sat down, the great orator, much agitated, attempted to rise to reply, when he swooned and fell in the arms of his friends near by. Every one pressed around him with solicitude, and the debate closed without another word. He was conveyed to his country-seat at Hayes, where he expired on the 11th of May. The scene of his fall in the House of Lords was admirably painted by Copley the American artist, who was then a resident of London.

The little army at Valley Forge had not only suffered great privations in camp, but were subjected to attacks upon their feeble outposts, and detachments sent out for food and forage, by parties sent from Philadelphia. Among the most active of these was a corps of American Loyalists, called the "Queen's Rangers," led by Major Simcoe, and numbering about five hundred men. In February, these went into New Jersey to capture Wayne, who was there gathering up horses and provisions, but failed. Another party, more than a thousand strong, led by Colonel Mawhood, went to Salem in March, and on the 18th, had a severe skirmish at Quintin's bridge, near that town, with a small force of Americans under Colonel Holmes. The latter were dispersed, but were saved from capture or destruction, by Colonel Hand, who arrived with some troops and two pieces of cannon, and checked the pursuers. Mawhood then sent Simcoe to attack another detachment at Hancock's bridge, not far from Quintin's, on the night of the 20th. But few Americans were there, and most of them were non-combatants, who made no resistance. They were all murdered while begging for quarter. This cruel act was done by unprincipled Tories, who, in arms, were called "The blood-hounds of the Revolution."

At that time a committee of the Congress were at Valley Forge, where they had been for several weeks, conferring with the commander-in-chief on the subject of future military operations, and especially upon reforms of present abuses in the army, the increase in its efficiency, and the revival of the hopes of the country. Washington presented to the committee a very long memorial, in which he had embodied the views of himself and his officers. He specially urged as a necessity, as well as equity, of insuring to the officers of the army, half-pay for life. This memorial formed the basis of the report of the committee to the Congress. Washington also wrote many letters to members of that body, urging the measure of half-pay with great earnestness and good arguments, pleading for this act of justice toward his companions in arms, and disclaiming all selfish motives, for he had often declared that he would not receive pay for his own services. The Congress finally agreed to secure to each officer half-pay for the term of seven years next ensuing after the close of the contest, and a gratuity of eighty dollars to every non-commissioned officer and private who should continue in the service until the close of the war. These equitable provisions doubtless saved the Continental Army from dissolution in the spring of 1778.

Meanwhile the service had been strengthened by the appointment of General Greene quartermaster-general, in place of General Mifflin, and the Baron de Steuben as inspector-general of the Continental Army, in place of General Conway. Steuben was a skillful Prussian officer, who had served on the staff of Frederick the Great. He arrived in America at the beginning of December, 1777, and presenting himself to the Congress at York, offered his services. His certificates of character were so ample, that they were accepted; and at the urgent solicitation of Washington he was appointed inspector-general of the armies, with the rank and pay of major-general. Joining the army at Valley Forge, he so thoroughly disciplined the crude soldiery there, in military manœuvres, that before the opening of the campaign in June, they had acquired much of the skill of European veterans. Our regular soldiers were never beaten in a fair fight, after their drilling at Valley Forge.

As the spring advanced and warm weather prevailed, the comforts of the soldiers were increased and their daily wants were more bountifully supplied. Their shattered regiments were filled, and a more hopeful feeling prevailed throughout the country, when, on the night of the 3d of May, a despatch reached Washington, from the President of Congress, announcing the alliance between France and the United States. Washington communicated the important news in general orders on the 6th, and great joy was thereby produced. He set apart the following day to be devoted to a grateful acknowl-

edgement of the Divine goodness in raising up a powerful friend in "one of the princes of the earth, to establish liberty and independence upon a solid foundation," and to celebrate the great event by tokens of delight. He directed the several brigades of the army to be assembled at nine o'clock in the morning to hear prayers and appropriate discourses from their respective chaplains. At a given signal the men were to be under arms for inspection and parade, when they were to be led to a specified position to fire a *feu de joie* with cannon and small guns. At a given signal, there was



BARON STEUBEN DRILLING THE TROOPS.

to be a discharge of thirteen cannon and a running fire of small-arms, when the whole army were to huzza—" *Long live the king of France!* " Then another discharge of thirteen cannon and all the muskets was to be given, followed by a shout of the army—" *Long live the friendly European powers!* " Then a third discharge of cannon and musketry in like manner, and a shout—" *The American States.* "

These orders were faithfully obeyed. Washington, with his wife and suite and other general officers with their wives, attended the religious services of the New Jersey brigade. The army made a brilliant appearance in their new suits of clothing and polished arms. After the soldiers had

retired, the commander-in-chief dined in public with all his officers, attended by a band of music; and the entertainment ended with a number of patriotic toasts, and loud huzzas for Washington, when he left the table.

The "Conciliatory Bills" had arrived in America a fortnight before the news of the treaty was received by the Congress, and attracted much attention in and out of that body. Governor Tryon, at New York, caused them to be printed and widely circulated, to produce disaffection among the Americans. As they did not propose independence as a basis for negotiations, they were regarded by the patriots with suspicion, and were denominated "deceptionary bills." Washington and the Congress rejected them as inadequate, in scope, to form a foundation for discussion. "Nothing short of independence, it appears to me, will do," Washington wrote. "A peace on other terms would, if I may be allowed the expression, be a peace of war." The Congress resolved that the terms were totally inadequate, and that no advances on the part of the British government would be met, unless, as a preliminary step, they should either withdraw their fleets and armies, or acknowledge, unequivocally, the independence of the United States.

Such was the temper of the Americans, when, on the 4th of June, three commissioners—the Earl of Carlisle, George Johnstone, and William Eden—sent to negotiate for peace, arrived at Philadelphia. They were accompanied by Adam Ferguson, the eminent professor in the University of Edinburgh. Directions were sent for General Howe to join them, but as he had left the country, and the army was commanded by Sir Henry Clinton, the latter took his place. The commissioners sent their credentials to the Congress by a flag. For reasons above given, the Congress refused to treat with them, and the papers were returned to them, with a letter from the President giving reasons for the act. The commissioners tried by various arts to accomplish their purposes, but were foiled; and in October they returned to England, after issuing an angry manifesto and proclamation to the Congress, the State legislatures, and the whole inhabitants, in which they denounced the "rebels" and warned the people to beware of the righteous wrath of Great Britain.

Johnstone early lost all claims to respectful consideration, by attempting to gain by intrigue, what he could not obtain by fair means. He became acquainted with the accomplished Mrs. Ferguson, wife of a relative of the secretary of the commissioners, and daughter of Dr. Thomas Graeme of Pennsylvania. Her husband was in the British service, and she was much with the loyalists, but her conduct was so discreet, and her attachment to her country was so undoubtedly sincere, that she maintained the confidence and respect of leading patriots. Johnstone made her believe he was a warm

friend of the Americans, and was exceedingly anxious to stop the effusion of blood. He expressed his belief that if a proper representation could be made to the members of Congress and other leading Whigs, peace might speedily be secured. Mrs. Ferguson sympathized with him. As he could not pass the lines himself, he entreated her to go to General Joseph Reed, and say to him that if he could, conscientiously, exert his influence to bring about a reconciliation, he might command ten thousand guineas and the highest post in the government. "That," said Mrs. Ferguson, "General Reed would consider the offer of a bribe." Johnstone disclaimed any such intention. Believing him sincere, Mrs. Ferguson sought and obtained an interview with Reed, as soon as the British left Philadelphia. When she had repeated the conversation with Johnstone, Reed indignantly replied—"I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it!" This attempt at bribery was soon made known, and drew upon the commissioners the scorn of all honest men. Mrs. Ferguson, whose motives seem to have been pure, was violently assailed. Trumbull, in his satire entitled "McFingal," thus alludes to the transaction:

"Behold, at Britain's utmost shifts,
Comes Johnstone, loaded with like gifts,
To venture through the Whiggish tribe,
To cuddle, wheedle, coax and bribe;
And call, to aid his desp'rate mission,
His petticoated politician;
While Venus, joined to act the farce,
Strolls forth, embassadress of Mars.
In vain he strives; for, while he lingers,
Their mastiffs bite his off'ring fingers
Nor buys for George and realms infernal,
One spaniel but the mongrel, Arnold."



CHAPTER LXXVII.

The Mischianza—The British Evacuate Philadelphia—Distress of the Tories—The American Army—Oath of Allegiance—Lafayette Outgenerals the British Commanders—The British Evacuate Pennsylvania—The Americans Pursue—Disobedience of Lee—Battle at Monmouth—The British Army Escapes to New York—Washington Crosses the Hudson—Goes into Winter-Quarters in New Jersey—Washington and Lee—Treason of General Lee—His Will—Arrival of a French Fleet and Minister—D’Estaing Sails for Rhode Island—Sullivan’s Expedition—French and British Fleets off Newport—Battle of Rhode Island—British Marauders.

WE have observed that Sir Henry Clinton succeeded Sir William Howe as commander-in-chief of the British army in America. He entered upon his duties, as such, on the 24th of May, 1778. A week before, Philadelphia was agreeably excited by a grand complimentary entertainment given to the brothers Howe, and called by the Italian name for a medley, *Mischianza*. It was an appropriate closing of a round of dissipation in which the British army had indulged during their six months residence in Philadelphia. Many of the officers had lived in open defiance of the demands of morality. Their profligacy was so conspicuous, that many of the Tory families who had welcomed the invaders, had prayed for the departure of such undesirable guests.

“The Mischianza,” wrote Captain André, Clinton’s accomplished and afterward unfortunate young adjutant-general, “was the most splendid entertainment ever given by an army to their commander.” André was the chief inventor and manager of the pageant; and he and Captain Oliver De Lancey, a Tory leader of New York, painted all the scenery and other decorations. The entertainment began with a grand regatta in the presence of thousands of spectators, who thronged the wharves and swarmed upon the river in small boats. Banners waved, cannon thundered, and martial music filled the air. This over, the scene changed to a tilt and a tournament on shore, followed by a grand ball and supper, for which purposes spacious temporary buildings were erected in connection with the fine Wharton mansion in Fifth street.

The company, as they disembarked from the boats, marched between rows of grenadiers, preceded by the music, which consisted of all the bands

of the army. After passing two triumphal arches, the procession, with the general and admiral, came to two pavilions with rows of benches rising one above the other, where the ladies were received and the gentlemen arranged on each side of them. On the front seat of each pavilion were seven young women, chosen from families of highest social position in Philadelphia. These were dressed in Turkish costume, and wore in their turbans the "favors" with which they intended to reward the several knights who were to contend in their honor. Suddenly the braying of trumpets was heard in the distance, and soon two bands of knights appeared, with their squires—Knights of *The Blended Rose*, and Knights of *The Burning Mountain*. They were dressed in ancient costume of white and red silk, and mounted on gray horses richly caparisoned in trappings of the same colors. They entered the list with their squires dressed in black. Captain Lord Cathcart, superbly mounted, appeared as chief of the Knights of *The Blended Rose*, his stirrups held by two black slaves in brilliant dresses, their arms and breasts bare. The chief of the Knights of *The Burning Mountain* was Captain Watson of the Guards, dressed in a magnificent suit of black and orange silk. These leaders and their followers each appeared in honor of one of the fourteen maidens in Turkish costume, and were announced with the name of the young lady in whose honor they were to contend. For example:

"Third knight, Captain André, in honor of Miss Chew; Squire, Lieutenant André: device, two game-cocks fighting; motto, "No rival."

The two bands of knights fought each other, and each one was rewarded with a favor from his "lady love." When the tournament was over, the knights rode between two rows of troops through the first triumphal arch, where all the flags of the army were displayed. Then the knights, with their squires, took their stations, the bands filling the air with martial music. The company then moved toward the knights, the maidens in oriental costume in front. As these passed, they were saluted by the knights, who then dismounted and joined them, and in this order all were conducted into a garden that fronted a large building; and passing through the second triumphal arch, the company ascended a flight of carpeted steps that led to a magnificent hall, the panels of which were painted to imitate Sienite marble, and decorated with festoons of flowers. From this hall the company were conducted to an elegantly decorated ball-room garnished with eighty-five mirrors decked with ribbons, and thirty-four candelabra with wax-candles, also decorated with ribbons. The ball was opened by the knights and their ladies, and the dancing continued until ten o'clock, when the windows were thrown open to allow the assemblage within to see a magnificent display of fireworks. At midnight a sumptuous banquet was partaken of in a grand

saloon more than two hundred feet in length, and beautifully adorned. At the close of the supper a herald entered with a flourish of trumpets, and proclaimed the health of the king, queen, and royal family; the army and navy, and their commanders; the knights and their ladies, and the ladies in general. After supper they all returned to the ball-room, and danced until four o'clock in the morning.

This foolish pageant had just ended, when orders reached Philadelphia for the troops to evacuate that city and the fleet to leave the Delaware River. The rescript of the French monarch, as we have observed, was regarded in England as tantamount to a declaration of war, and the British government saw the danger that threatened their land and naval forces should a French fleet blockade the Delaware, a circumstance which speedily occurred. At the middle of April, Admiral the Count D'Estaing, a major-general in the French service, sailed from Toulon with twelve ships-of-the-line and three frigates, and after a rough voyage of ninety days, anchored in the Delaware. Fortunately for Lord Howe's fleet, it had left those waters a few days before, and was safely anchored in the broad bay off the mouth of the Raritan River. The British army had also escaped to New York, after great perils by the way.

The order for the evacuation of Philadelphia, and its execution, produced wide-spread consternation and distress in that city, lately so gay with scarlet uniforms, martial music and banners, dashing young officers and a brilliant display of the pastimes of half-barbarous nations five hundred years before. The change from bright promises of protection to the despair caused by cruel desertion was awful. It was like the sudden gathering of a fierce tempest in a serene sky. About three thousand of the most tenderly-bred of the inhabitants left their homes, their property and their cherished associations, and fled for refuge from the indignation of their Whig neighbors, whom they had outraged in many ways, to be borne away, they knew not whither, to a fate which they could not foresee.

Meanwhile the condition of Washington's army at Valley Forge, which the British despised, and ridiculed in plays by amateur performances in a theatre in Philadelphia, was greatly improved in every respect. At the middle of May the troops fit for duty numbered about fifteen thousand men. The Congress had just ratified the treaty with France, and so gave great encouragement to the American people. The warmth of approaching summer diffused physical comfort, life, and vigor through the camp; and the fact, when known, that the British had been ordered to leave Philadelphia and the adjacent waters, inspired the soldiers with joy and hope.

The Congress ordered an oath of allegiance to be administered to all the

officers of the army at Valley Forge, before the opening of the campaign. This ceremony took place on the 12th of May. The commander-in-chief administered it to the general officers. In so doing, several of them placed their hands on the Bible at the same time, and so took the oath together



TAKING THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE AT VALLEY FORGE.

When Washington began to read the form, General Charles Lee, who had been exchanged for General Prescott, captured on Rhode Island, withdrew his hand. This movement he repeated, when Washington demanded a reason for the strange conduct. Lee replied: "As to King George, I am ready enough to absolve myself from all allegiance to him; but I have some scruples about the Prince of Wales." This odd reply, which covered a deeper motive, excited much laughter. In the light of to-day, we may clearly see the real reason. Lee was then playing a desperate game of

treason, and probably had some conscientious scruples about taking such an oath which he would probably violate. He did, however, subscribe to it.

We have already mentioned some movements of American detachments during the winter and spring of 1778. At the middle of May news reached Washington that the British were probably preparing to evacuate Philadelphia. It was premature, for the order for that movement had not then arrived. However, the vigilant commander-in-chief acted promptly. He detached Lafayette, with about twenty-one hundred men and five pieces of cannon, to restrain British foragers and marauders who were plundering the country, and had burned several American vessels in the Delaware River. He was instructed to cut off all communications between Philadelphia and the country; to obtain correct information concerning the enemy, and to be ready to follow the fugitives with a considerable force when they should leave the city. Lafayette crossed the Schuylkill and took post on Barren Hill, about half-way between Valley Forge and Philadelphia. The marquis made his quarters at the house of a Tory Quaker, who informed Howe of the fact. The latter immediately ordered General Grant to make a secret night march, with over five thousand men, to gain the rear of Lafayette, and prevent his recrossing the Schuylkill. This was done on the night of the 20th of May. Early the next morning Howe marched with almost six thousand men, commanded by Clinton and Knyphausen, to capture the young Frenchman and send him to England. Grant actually surprised the marquis, and held the ford over which he and his little army had crossed the Schuylkill; but by a deceptive, quick, and skillful movement Lafayette outgeneraled his antagonist, and escaped across Matson's Ford—General Poor leading the advance, while Grant was making preparations for battle. Howe was sadly disappointed. He felt sure of closing his military career in America with a brilliant achievement, but was foiled; and he marched back to Philadelphia, where, on the 24th, he embarked for England.

The British army lingered in Philadelphia until the morning of the 18th of June, when, just before the dawn, they began the passage of the Delaware at Gloucester Point, and at the close of the day were encamped around Haddonfield, a few miles southeast from Camden. So secretly and adroitly had this movement been made, that Washington was not certified of the destination of the British army until they had passed the river. Suspecting, however, that Clinton would take a land-route to New York, the commander-in-chief had dispatched General Maxwell, with his brigade, to co-operate with the New Jersey militia, under General Dickenson, in retarding the march of the enemy. Clinton had crossed the Delaware with about seventeen thousand effective men.

General Arnold, whose wound kept him from duty in the field, was left with a detachment to occupy Philadelphia. The remainder of the army crossed the Delaware above Trenton, and pursued. Lee had been restored to his command as the oldest major-general, and exercised a baleful influence as far as he was able. He was plotting for the ruin of that army, and



FLIGHT OF THE BRITISH ACROSS NEW JERSEY.

endeavored to thwart every measure that promised success. He persistently opposed all interference with Clinton in his march across New Jersey, finding fault with everything, and creating much mischief. When, at length, he was requested to lead the advance in a meditated attack upon the enemy, he at first declined the honor and duty, saying the plan was defective and would surely fail.

Clinton had intended to march to New Brunswick, and there embark his army on the Raritan; but finding Washington in his path, he turned, at Allentown, toward Monmouth Court-House, with a determination to make his way to Sandy Hook, and thence by water to New York. Washington

followed him on a parallel line, prepared to strike him whenever a good opportunity should offer; while Clinton wished to avoid a battle, if possible, for he was heavily encumbered with baggage-wagons and a host of camp-followers, making a line twelve miles in length. He encamped near Monmouth Court-House on the 27th of June, where Washington resolved to strike him when he should move, the next morning, for it was important to prevent his gaining the advantageous position of Middletown Heights.

Lee was now in command of the advanced corps. Washington ordered him to consult his general officers, and form a plan of attack. When Lee met them—Lafayette, Wayne, and Maxwell—he refused to arrange a plan or give any orders; and when at dawn on the 28th—a hot and serene Sabbath morning—Washington was informed that Clinton was about to move, and ordered Lee to fall upon the enemy's rear unless there should be good reasons for his not doing so, that officer was so tardy in his obedience that he allowed the foe ample time to prepare for battle. When Lee did move, he seemed to have no plan. He gave orders and counter-orders, and so perplexed and alarmed his generals that they sent a request to Washington to appear on the field immediately. While Wayne was attacking with vigor with a prospect of victory, Lee ordered him to make only a feint. The irritated commander, like a true soldier, instantly obeyed, and lost a chance for victory and honor.

Clinton now suddenly changed front, and sent a large force, horse and foot, to attack Wayne. They approached cautiously toward Lee's right, when Lafayette, believing a good opportunity was offered to gain the rear of this division of the enemy, rode quickly up to Lee and asked permission to attempt it. "Sir," said Lee, sternly, "you do not know British soldiers; we cannot stand against them; we shall certainly be driven back at first, and we must be cautious." The marquis replied: "It may be so, general; but British soldiers have been beaten, and they may be again; at any rate, I am disposed to make the trial." Lee, yielding a little, ordered the marquis to wheel his column by the right, and gain and attack the enemy's left; at the same time he weakened Wayne's detachment, by taking from it three regiments to support the right. At that moment, discovering a movement of the British that apparently disconcerted him, he ordered his right to fall back. Generals Scott and Maxwell were then about to attack, when they, too, were ordered to fall back. Lafayette received a similar order, when a general retreat began. The British pursued, and Lee showed no disposition to check either his own troops or those of the enemy. A panic seized the former, and the orderly retreat became a disorderly flight.

Washington was pressing forward to the support of Lee, when he was

met by the astounding intelligence that the advance divisions were in full retreat. Of this disastrous movement Lee had not sent him word, and the fugitives were falling back in haste upon the main army. This was an alarming state of things. The indignation of the commander-in-chief was fearfully aroused; and when he met Lee at the head of the second retreating column, he rode up to the culprit, and in a tone of withering reproof, exclaimed: "Sir, I desire to know what is the reason, and whence comes this disorder and confusion?" Lee retorted sharply, and said: "You know the attack was contrary to my advice and opinion." Washington replied, with a voice that told of the depth of his indignation: "You should not have undertaken the command unless you intended to carry it through." It was no time for verbal contention. Wheeling his horse, Washington hastened to Ramsay and Stewart, in the rear, rallied a large portion of their regiments, and ordered Oswald, with his two cannon, to take post on an eminence. These field-pieces, skillfully handled, soon checked the pursuing enemy. The presence of Washington inspired the troops with confidence and courage; and ten minutes after he appeared, the retreat was suspended. The chief rode fearlessly in the face of the storm of conflict, and the whole patriot army, which, half an hour before, seemed on the point of being a fugitive mob, were now in orderly battle array, upon an eminence on which General Lord Stirling placed some batteries of cannon. The line there formed was commanded on the right by General Greene, and on the left by Lord Stirling.

The patriot army were now confronted by the flower of the British troops in America, commanded by Generals Clinton and Cornwallis, about seven thousand strong. They were upon a narrow road bounded by morasses; and when they found themselves strongly opposed on their front, they attempted to turn the American left flank. The British cavalry, in the van, were repulsed, and disappeared. The regiments of foot then came up, when a severe battle ensued with musketry and cannon. The American batteries were skillfully worked under the direction of General Knox. For awhile the result of the contest was doubtful, when General Wayne came up with a body of troops and gave victory to the republicans. His well-directed fire was so effectual, that Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, in command of the British grenadiers, seeing that the fate of the conflict depended upon driving Wayne away, led his troops to a bayonet charge. Wayne gave them such a hot reception with bullets that almost every British officer was slain. Among them was Monckton, who fell as he was waving his sword and pressing forward with a shout. Then the British retreated through the narrow pass along which they had pursued the Americans, and fell back to the heights occupied by Lee in the morning. It was a strong position, flanked by



WASHINGTON AT MONMOUTH

morasses, and accessible in front only by a narrow road. The conflict ended at dusk, when the wearied American troops lay down upon their arms on the battle-field, with the intention of renewing the struggle in the morning. It had been a day of fearful heat—ninety-six degrees in the shade. More than fifty American soldiers died that day from “sun-stroke;” and hundreds, suffering from thirst, drank from pools of muddy water, whenever an opportunity offered.



ON THE BATTLE-FIELD AT MONMOUTH.

At near midnight, Clinton, with his army, stealthily withdrew, and before the dawn they were far on their way toward Sandy Hook. There they embarked for New York, arriving there on the 30th. Washington did not pursue, but marched for the Hudson River by way of New Brunswick. Crossing that stream, he encamped near White Plains, in Westchester county, until late in the autumn. Clinton, in his official despatch to his government, said: “Having reposed the troops until ten at night to avoid the excessive heat of the day, *I took advantage of the moonlight* to rejoin General Knyphausen, who had advanced to Nut Swamp, near Middletown.” The waning moon set at a little past ten that night. Alluding to the circumstance, Trumbull, in his satire of “McFingal,” wrote:

“He forms his camp with great parade,
While evening spreads the world in shade,

Then still, like some endangered spark,
Steals off on tip-toe in the dark ;
Yet writes his king in boasting tone
How grand he march'd by light of moon !”

Notwithstanding Washington had reason to suspect Lee of treachery on the battle-field (for he had been warned the night before that he was a secret traitor, and his conduct had justified the suspicion), he was disposed to treat him leniently. But Lee, smarting under the just reproof of the commander-in-chief, wrote a note to him the next day, demanding an apology for the words spoken to him on the field. Washington made a temperate reply, expressing his conviction that the reproof he had uttered was justified by the circumstances, whereupon Lee wrote an insulting letter to the chief. The offender was arrested and tried by a court-martial on charges of disobedience of orders, misbehaviour before the enemy, and disrespect to the commander-in-chief. He was found guilty, and sentenced to suspension from military command for a year. Late in the year the Congress approved the sentence. A little more than twelve months afterward, they dismissed him from the service on account of an impertinent letter which he wrote to them.

That General Lee was treacherous to the cause which he pretended to espouse, there is ample proof. A few years ago a manuscript in the handwriting of Lee, prepared while that officer was a prisoner in New York and addressed to General Howe, containing a plan for the speedy subjugation of the colonies, came into the possession of George H. Moore, LL.D., who published it, with many facts, which clearly show that the writer had been a traitor, undoubtedly, from the fight in Charleston Harbor in June, 1776, until the battle at Monmouth, in June, 1778. All the while that he was in command during that time, he was acting in bad faith toward the Americans. His influence in the army was, at all times, mischievous. Exceedingly selfish and thoroughly unprincipled, bad in morals and lacking in courage, he loved neither God nor man. He died in obscurity in Philadelphia, in October, 1782. By his will, written a few days before his death, he bequeathed his soul to the Almighty, and his body to the earth, saying: “I desire, most earnestly, that I may not be buried in any church or churchyard, or within a mile of any Presbyterian or Anabaptist meeting-house, for, since I have resided in this country, I have kept so much bad company when living that I do not choose to continue it when dead.” He was buried in the churchyard of Christ Church, Philadelphia, with military honors.

D’Estaing, with a French fleet, arrived in the Delaware on the 8th of July, 1778, accompanied by M. Gerard, the first minister of France accredited

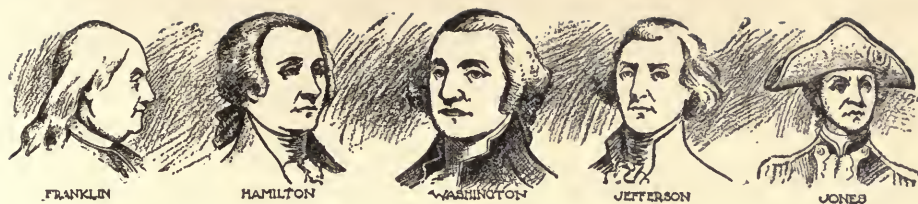
to the United States government, and Commissioner Deane. Howe's fleet was anchored off Sandy Hook, to co-operate with the army in New York. D'Estaing proceeded to attack it, but when he arrived there, the British vessels were all in Raritan Bay, safe from the guns of the heavy French ships that drew too much water to allow them to cross the bar above Sandy Hook. General Sullivan, commanding in the east, was preparing to attempt the expulsion of the six thousand British troops then holding Rhode Island; and, at the special request of Washington, D'Estaing sailed for Narragansett Bay, with thirty-five hundred land troops, to assist in the enterprise. He arrived off Newport at the close of July, accompanied by young John Laurens as aide and interpreter, and the admiral and general arranged a plan of operations.

Washington had instructed Sullivan to arrange his troops in two divisions, and sent Greene to command one of them, and Lafayette to command the other. A requisition had been made upon New England for troops, and in twenty days Sullivan's army was swelled to ten thousand effective men. On the appearance of the French fleet off Newport, the British caused several ships-of-war and galleys, carrying more than two hundred guns, to be burned.

On the 8th of August, the French vessels ran past the batteries near the entrance to Narragansett Bay. Arrangements had been made for the landing of the French troops, and the invasion of Sullivan's army on the 10th; but the latter, discovering on the 9th that the British outposts at the northern end of the island had been abandoned, crossed over from Tiverton on that day. At the same time the fleet of Lord Howe, which had been reinforced from England, appeared off Newport; and on the morning of the 10th, D'Estaing sailed out past the English batteries, to fight him. A stiff wind was then rising from the northeast. Both commanders long contended for the weather-guage (to keep to the windward)—so long that before they were ready to begin, the wind had increased to a hurricane and scattered both fleets. It blew so furiously that spray from the ocean was carried over Newport and incrustated the windows with salt. The French fleet was much shattered, and went to Boston for repairs, and Howe sailed back to Sandy Hook. The storm, which ended on the 14th, had burst with terrible fury on the American camp, spoiling much of their ammunition, overturning tents, and damaging provisions.

D'Estaing had promised to land his troops after the fight with Howe. He reappeared off Newport, when Greene and Lafayette visited him on board his flag-ship, to urge him to fulfill that promise. He declined to do so. Expecting these reinforcements, Sullivan had pushed his army several

miles toward Newport. When they found themselves deserted by the French, the New England volunteers, believing the expedition was a failure, returned home, and so reduced Sullivan's army to six thousand men. He saw the necessity for retreating and began that movement on the night of the 28th, when the British pursued. The Americans made a stand on Butt's Hill, twelve miles from Newport, which they had fortified. The British tried to turn their right wing on the morning of the 29th, when General Greene, commanding it, changed front, assailed the pursuers vigorously, and drove them to their strong defence on Quaker Hill. A general engagement ensued, when the British line was broken and driven back in confusion to Turkey Hill. The day was very sultry, and many perished by the heat. The action ended at near three o'clock in the afternoon, but a sluggish cannonade was kept up until sunset. In this engagement the Americans lost about two hundred men, and the British two hundred and sixty. On the night of the 30th, Sullivan's army withdrew to the main. General Clinton arrived the next day with a reinforcement of four thousand men. He soon returned to New York, after sending General Grey to destroy a large number of ships, with magazines, stores, wharves, warehouses, and other buildings at New Bedford, and mills and houses at Fair Haven. Property to the amount of over three hundred thousand dollars was destroyed. Then the marauders proceeded to Martha's Vineyard, where they demanded of and received from the defenceless inhabitants militia arms, public money, three hundred oxen, and ten thousand sheep.



CHAPTER LXXVIII.

Desolation of the Wyoming Valley—Indian and Tory Raids in the State of New York—Massacre at Cherry Valley—Events in the Western Wilderness—Exploits of Major Clarke—British Forays—The British Invade Georgia—Relative Position of the Belligerents—Attitude of European Governments—American Finances—Loan Offices and a Lottery Scheme—Efforts to Redeem the Bills of Credit—Protection and Aid Solicited by Congress—British Hopes and Dangers—A Defensive Policy Adopted—Plan of the Campaign in the South—Military Operations in Georgia.

THE first severely bitter fruit of the alliance of Great Britain with the American savages was tasted in the Wyoming Valley in the summer of 1778. That valley is a beautiful region of Pennsylvania, lying between mountain ranges and watered by the Susquehanna River that flows through it. The first European known to have trodden the soil of the valley was Count Zinzendorf the Moravian, seeking the good of souls. The region was claimed as a part of the domain of Connecticut granted by the charter of that province given by Charles the Second, and was called the county of Westmoreland. The first settlers there, forty in number, went from Connecticut about the middle of the 18th century. When the old war for independence broke out, the valley was a paradise of beauty and fertility. As that war went on, and an alliance between the British and Indians became manifest, the people of the valley felt insecure. They built small forts for their protection, and called the attention of the Continental Congress, from time to time, to their exposed situation. When St. Leger was besieging Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk River, in 1777, parties of Indian warriors threatened the valley, but the inhabitants there were spared from much harm until the summer of 1778.

Among the Tory leaders in northern and western New York were John Butler and his son Walter N. They were less merciful toward the Whigs than their savage associates in deeds of violence. John Butler was a colonel in the British service; and in the spring of 1778, he induced the Seneca warriors in western New York to consent to follow him into Pennsylvania. He had been joined by some Tories from the Wyoming Valley, who gave him a correct account of that region; and on the last day of June he appeared at

the head of the beautiful plains with more than a thousand men, Tories and Indians. They captured the uppermost fort, and Butler made the fortified house of Wintermoot, a Tory of the valley, his headquarters. The whole military force to oppose the invasion was composed of a small company of regulars and a few militia. When the alarm was given, the whole population, flew to arms. Grandfathers and their aged sons, boys, and even women, seized such weapons as were at hand, and joined the soldiery. Colonel



DEFENDERS OF THE WYOMING VALLEY.

Zebulon Butler, an officer of the Continental Army, happened to be at home, and by common consent he was made commander-in-chief. Forty Fort, a short distance above Wilkes-Barré, was the place of general rendezvous, and in it were gathered the women and children of the valley.

On the 3d of July, Colonel Zebulon Butler led the little band of patriot-soldiers and citizens to surprise the invaders, at Wintermoot's. The vigilant leader of the motley host, informed of the movement, was ready to receive the assailants. The Tories formed the left wing of Colonel Butler's force resting on the river, and the Indians, led by Gi-en-gwa-tah, a Seneca chief, composed the right that extended to a swamp at the foot of the mountain. These were first struck by the patriots, and a general battle ensued. It raged vehemently for half an hour, when, just as the left of the invaders was about to give way, a mistaken order caused the republicans to retreat in disorder. The infuriated Indians sprang forward like wounded tigers, and gave no quarter. The patriots were slaughtered by scores. Only a few

escaped to the mountains, and were saved. In less than an hour after the battle began, two hundred and twenty-five scalps were in the hands of the savages as tokens of their prowess.

The yells of the Indians had been heard by the feeble ones at Forty Fort, and terror reigned there. Colonel Dennison, who had reached the valley that morning, had escaped to the stronghold, and prepared to defend the women and children to the last extremity. Colonel Butler had reached Wilkes-Barré fort in safety. Darkness put an end to the conflict, but increased the horrors. Prisoners were tortured and murdered. At midnight sixteen of them were arranged around a rock, and strongly held by the savages, when a half-breed woman, called Queen Esther, using a tomahawk and club alternately, murdered the whole band one after the other excepting two, who threw off the men who held them and escaped to the woods. A great fire lighted up the scene and revealed its horrors to the eyes of friends of the victims, who were concealed among the rocks not far away. Early the next morning, Forty Fort was surrendered, on a promise of safety for the persons and property of the people. The terms were respected a few hours by the Indians while John Butler remained in the valley. As soon as he was gone, they broke loose, spread over the plains, and with torch, tomahawk, and scalping-knife made it an absolute desolation. Scarcely a dwelling or an outbuilding was left unconsumed; not a field of corn was left standing; not a life was spared that the weapons of the savages could reach. The inhabitants who had not fled during the previous night were slaughtered or narrowly escaped. Those who departed made their way toward the eastern settlements. Many of them perished in the great swamp on the Pocono Mountains, ever since known as "The Shades of Death." The details of that day of destruction in the beautiful Wyoming Valley, and the horrors of the flight of survivors, formed one of the darkest chapters in human history. Yet Lord George Germain, the British Secretary for the colonies, praised the savages for their prowess and humanity, and resolved to direct a succession of similar raids upon the frontiers, and to devastate the older settlements. A member of the bench of Bishops in the House of Lords revealed the fact, in a speech, that there was "an article in the extraordinaries of the army for scalping-knives."

The settlements in the valleys of the Mohawk and Schoharie were great sufferers from Indian and Tory raids, during 1778. The Johnsons were anxious to recover their property and influence in the Mohawk country, and Brant, their natural ally by blood relationship and interest, joined them. Their spies and scouts were out in every direction. At a point on the upper waters of the Susquehanna, Brant organized scalping-parties and sent them

out to attack the border settlements. These fell like thunderbolts upon isolated families or little hamlets in the Schoharie country, and the blaze of burning dwellings lighted the firmament almost every night in those regions, and beyond. Springfield, at the head of Otsego Lake, was laid in ashes in May. In June, Cobleskill, in Schoharie county, was attacked by Brant and his warriors, who killed a portion of a garrison of republican troops stationed there, and plundered and burned the houses. In July a severe skirmish



CHERRY VALLEY CAPTIVES.

occurred on the upper waters of the Cobleskill, between five hundred Indians and some republican regulars and militia. These marauders kept the dwellers in that region in continual alarm all the summer and autumn of 1778, and, finally, at near the middle of November, during a heavy storm of sleet, a band of Indians and Tories, the former led by Brant and the latter by Walter N. Butler, fell upon Cherry Valley and murdered, plundered, and destroyed without stint. Butler was the arch-fiend on the occasion, and would listen to no appeals from Brant for mercy to their victims. Thirty-two of the inhabitants, mostly women and children, were murdered, with sixteen soldiers of the garrison. Nearly forty men, women, and children were led away captives, marching down the valley that night in the cold

storm, huddled together half-naked, with no shelter but the leafless trees and no resting-place but the wet ground. Tryon county, which then included all of the State of New York west of Albany county, was a "dark and bloody ground" for full four years.

Meanwhile there had been stirring events in the western wilderness, where the Indians had been stirred up to hostilities against the frontier settlements, by emissaries sent out among them by Colonel Henry Hamilton, the British commandant at Detroit. Major George Rogers Clarke, an active young Virginian, was commissioned to defend the settlements and attack Kaskaskia, one of several British posts in that region. In July, 1778, he seized Kaskaskia and Cahokia, near the Mississippi River, and in August took possession of Vincennes, on the Wabash River, a hundred miles from its mouth. The latter was a most important post, for it was in the heart of the Indian country, whose tribes bore allegiance to the British. The capture of Vincennes inspired the savages with great respect for American skill and courage, and Clarke found it a comparatively easy matter to pacify them and cause them to agree to assume a neutral position. Hearing of this and fearing the consequences, Colonel Hamilton sent an armed force from Detroit to retake Vincennes. This was done in January, 1779.

Clarke was in Kentucky when he heard of the recapture of Vincennes. He immediately started with one hundred and seventy-five men for its recovery. They penetrated the dreadful wilderness in February, 1779. For a whole week they traversed the "drowned lands" of Illinois, suffering very great hardships from cold, wet, and hunger. When they arrived at the Little Wabash, where the forks are three miles apart, they found the intervening space covered with water to the average depth of three feet. The points of dry land were five miles apart; and all that distance, these hardy soldiers waded through the cold snow-water sometimes armpit deep. On the evening of the 18th of February, they arrived before Vincennes; and at dawn the next morning, making themselves hideous by blackening their faces with gunpowder, they crossed the river in boats and pushed toward the town. Had they dropped from the clouds the inhabitants would not have been more astonished, for it seemed impossible for them to have traversed the deluged country. It was like a sudden apparition of fiends in human shape. Clarke demanded the surrender of the town, fort, and garrison. Colonel Hamilton was in command in person, and refused; but after a sharp siege of fourteen hours, the garrison became prisoners of war. Hamilton was sent to Virginia, where, because he had incited the savages to make war on the settlements, he was confined for awhile in irons in the common jail at Williamsburg.

From the close of the campaign in Rhode Island to the end of the year, there were no active military operations of importance in the north. The British made some forays from New York, in the vicinity of that city. Cornwallis penetrated New Jersey with a considerable force, late in September, but without much effect; and General Grey surprised Colonel Baylor's cavalry corps at Old Tappan, back of the Hudson River Palisades, and murdered them with the bayonet while they were begging for quarter. In October, a British party under Captain Patrick Ferguson, desolated the country around Little Egg Harbor in New Jersey, and burned several vessels there. The Count Pulaski was then on his way from Trenton to Little Egg Harbor,



CROSSING THE DROWNED LANDS.

with a small force of horse and foot. His picket-guard of infantry, thirty in number, were surprised by the British, and all were butchered, for the assailants did not wish to be encumbered with prisoners.

Toward the close of 1778, the theatre of active military operations was changed. Early in November D'Estaing sailed for the West Indies to attack the British possessions there. To defend these, it was necessary for the British fleet in our waters to hasten to that region. Accordingly, Admiral Hotham sailed from New York for the West Indies, with a squadron, on the 3d of November; and when Admiral Byron succeeded Lord Howe early in December, he, too, departed for those waters with some vessels-of-war. This movement would prevent any co-operation between the British fleet and army, in aggressive movements against the populous and now well-defended North, and it was determined to strike a withering blow at the more sparsely-settled South. Late in November Sir Henry Clinton dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell with about two thousand troops to invade Georgia, then the weakest member of the Union. These

troops were sent by way of the sea, and were landed at Savannah, the capital of Georgia, on the morning of the 29th of December. They were confronted by General Robert Howe, of North Carolina, who had hastened up from Sunbury, at the call of the garrison, with less than a thousand dispirited men. At a place known as Brewton's Hill, three miles below Savannah, a sharp fight ensued; but the Americans were compelled, by overwhelming numbers, to retreat. That retreat became a confused flight, partly across submerged rice-fields and a creek. About one hundred Americans were killed or drowned, and more than four hundred were made prisoners. The remainder went up the right side of the Savannah, crossed it at Zubley's Ferry, and took shelter in the bosom of South Carolina.

Now, at the end of the fourth year of the war, the relative position of the belligerents was almost the same as at the close of 1776. The headquarters of Washington were again in New Jersey, and those of the British were in New York city. The British army had accomplished very little more, in the way of conquest, than it had at the end of the second year, while the Americans had gained strength by experience, and had learned much of the arts of war and of civil government. They had also secured the alliance of a powerful European nation, and the sympathies of other European governments. The British forces really occupied the position of prisoners, for, with the exception of those in Georgia, they were closely hemmed in upon two islands (Manhattan and Rhode Island) almost two hundred miles apart. The Americans were strong, too, in the justice of their cause, while the British were weak, because they were warring against the rights of man.

Although the motives of France in forming an alliance were purely selfish (for the king hated republicans, and Vergennes was a thorough monarchist), and no real support had been given to the Americans by the French down to the close of the fourth year of the war, the fact served to give the patriots the moral strength of expectation, which, happily, was not powerful enough to make them neglect the use of their own resources in a reliance upon others, or to lose sight of real and constant danger. The Netherlands felt an earnest sympathy with the struggling republicans, and, as we have seen, refused to loan troops to Great Britain to fight her resisting subjects in America. Frederick the Great of Prussia had learned to distrust the friendship of England, and was coquetting with France; and early in 1778, he authorized his minister to write to the American commissioners at Paris: "The king desires that your generous efforts may be crowned with complete success. He will not hesitate to recognize your independence, when France, which is more directly interested in the event of the contest, shall have given the example."

Spain was hostile to the republican movement, for her monarch saw in the dissolution of the ties which bound the American colonies to Great Britain, a sure prophecy of the destruction of her own colonial system in America. He was willing to weaken Great Britain; and therefore Spain, for a time, secretly feigned a friendship for the Americans, for she desired to exhaust the resources of the British government. At the same time she strongly opposed the French alliance. When it was accomplished, the Spanish monarch was undecided what to do. He deceived the British minister at his court by the false pretence that he was ignorant of what France had been doing in the matter, and so he postponed a final determination. Franklin, whose sagacity had penetrated the depths of Spanish diplomacy, had, from the beginning, advised his countrymen not to woo Spain, and now he urged that advice more vehemently. He saw that all the friendship she might profess would be false, and lead to embarrassment. At this time, the Congress, wearied by the dissensions of rival commissioners, and perceiving that Vergennes preferred to treat with Franklin alone, determined to abolish the joint commission. They did so in September, 1778, and appointed Franklin sole envoy at the French court.

The Americans entered upon the fifth year of the struggle for independence with clouded prospects. They had no national government. Their representatives had adopted a pattern for one, but, as we have observed, the several States were tardy in confirming their action. The finances of the country were in a wretched condition. Bills of credit or "Continental Money" representing one hundred million dollars were then in circulation, without adequate security, for the Congress, having no power to levy taxes, had very little credit. The coin value of the paper money was then rapidly depreciating. In January, 1779, one hundred dollars in gold or silver would purchase seven hundred and forty-two dollars in bills; and from that time the depreciation was so rapid that, at the close of the year, one hundred dollars in specie would purchase twenty-six hundred in bills. While the amount of the issues was small the credit of the bills was good, and they were taken freely by the people for the space of eighteen months after the first issue in the summer of 1775; but when new and larger emissions took place, without adequate provisions for their redemption, suspicion supplanted confidence in the public mind. It was perceived that depreciation was inevitable. To prevent this disastrous tendency, the Congress, in January, 1777, when the bills had shrunk one-half in value, asked the several States to declare them a lawful tender, and denounced every person who refused to take them at par as enemies, liable to forfeit whatever he or she might offer for sale. The States complied; and they were invited to cancel their respective quotas of

Continental bills, and to become creditors of the common treasury for such sums as they might thereafter advance. They were requested to call in their own bills of credit which they had put in circulation, and to issue no more; but they would not consent to these proposed financial arrangements.

In the autumn of 1776, the Congress opened loan-offices in the several States, and authorized a lottery to raise money "for defraying the expenses of the next campaign." The prizes of the lottery were made payable in loan-office certificates. But loans came in slowly, and so few lottery tickets were purchased that the scheme was finally abandoned. The treasury became almost exhausted; and by drafts from the commissioners in Europe, the loan-offices were over-drawn upon. Attempts to borrow adequate sums abroad, utterly failed. The financial embarrassments had been increased by the circulation of an immense amount of counterfeits of the Continental bills, by the British and Tories, after the spring of 1777. They were sent out of the city of New York literally by cart-loads. The business was no secret. An advertisement in a New York paper ran thus: "Persons going into other colonies may be supplied with any number of counterfeited Congress notes for the price of the paper per ream;" and they were assured that the counterfeit was so "neatly and exactly executed" that there was "no risk in getting them off."

For the want of money and credit, the campaign of 1778 was closed at the beginning of autumn, and the Congress felt the necessity of adopting some extraordinary efforts for redeeming the bills of credit. They taxed the several States; and in January, 1779, they called upon them, by a resolution, to "pay in their respective quotas of fifteen millions of dollars," for the current year, and "six millions of dollars annually, for eighteen years, from and after the year 1779, as a fund for sinking the emissions." All efforts were vain. Prices rose as the bills sunk in value, and every kind of trade was embarrassed. The Congress were sorely perplexed. Only about four million dollars had been obtained by loan from Europe, and present negotiations appeared futile. No French army was yet upon our soil; no French coin gladdened the eyes and hearts of the American soldiers, whose pay was much in arrears. A French fleet had, indeed, been upon our coast; but after mocking our hopes with broken promises of support in Rhode Island, had gone to the West Indies to fight battles for France. The Continental bills rapidly depreciated, and early in 1781, became worthless. I have before me an account rendered to Captain Allan McLane, in January, 1781, for merchandise purchased, in which appear the following items, among others: "1 pair of boots, \$600; 6 yds. chintz, \$150 a yard, \$900; 1 skein of thread, \$10."

The Congress resumed their sessions in Philadelphia, at the beginning of July, 1778, and in August they began to devote two days each week to a consideration of financial matters. In September they issued fifteen million dollars in bills of credit. Their depreciation became more rapid as the year drew to a close, and the Congress saw no other resource than in loans or subsidies from Europe. They instructed Dr. Franklin to assure the French monarch that they "hoped protection from his power and magnanimity." This humiliating step was not approved by some of the members of Congress, because they were unwilling to have their country placed under the protection of any foreign power which was likely to be the protection of the lamb by the wolf. Eight States voted for the measure. Aid was hoped for from the Netherlands, and Henry Laurens was sent to the Hague to negotiate a loan.

The estimated expenses of the government of the United States for the year 1779 was over sixty million dollars in paper money, for which no adequate provision was made. A knowledge of these financial embarrassments gave the British ministry hopes of a speedy wreck of the cause of the republicans, and Germain prepared to carry on the war with relentless rigor. The Congress abandoned the wild scheme for the conquest of Canada; and they called Washington from his headquarters at Middlebrook to confer with them about the campaign for 1779. His troops were cantoned in a line of posts of observation, extending from the Delaware, by way of the Hudson Highlands, to the Connecticut line. It was resolved by the Congress and the commander-in-chief to act on the defensive only, except in retaliatory expeditions against the Indians and Tories. This policy was pursued in the north, and the chief efforts of the Americans were directed to the confinement of the British army to the seaboard, and chastising the Indian tribes.

The winter campaign opened at Savannah by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell at the close of December, continued until late in the spring, and resulted in the complete subjugation of Georgia to British rule. The British authorities had planned this campaign with great care. Troops were to take possession of Savannah and subdue Georgia. Five thousand additional troops were to be landed at Charleston. The Indians in Florida and Alabama were to be brought upon the frontier settlements, and these were to be joined by warriors to be sent down from the northwest by the commandant at Detroit. A force sufficient to protect the Loyalists and restore government in North Carolina were to be landed on the banks of the Cape Fear River. Then by judicious operations in Virginia and Maryland, Germain confidently expected to bring all Americans below the Susquehanna River to allegiance to the British crown.

In the autumn of 1778, General Prevost, who was in command of some British regulars, Tories and Indians, in East Florida, sent from St. Augustine two expeditions into Georgia. One of these made an extensive raid, carrying off negro slaves, grain, horses, and horned cattle; destroying crops and burning the village of Midway; the other appeared before the fort at Sunbury, and demanded its surrender. Colonel Mackintosh, the commander of



A RAID.

the garrison, said, "Come and take it," when the invaders retreated. These incursions caused General Robert Howe to lead an expedition against St. Augustine. On the banks of the St. Mary's River, a malarious disease swept away a quarter of his men. After a little skirmishing, he led the survivors back to Savannah, and these composed the handful of dispirited men who confronted Campbell at Brewton's Hill. The expulsion of Howe from Savannah was soon followed by the arrival of Prevost, who came up from Florida, captured the fort at Sunbury on the way (January 9, 1779), and assumed the chief command of the British troops in the South. The combined forces of Prevost and Campbell numbered about three thousand men.

In the meantime General Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts, appointed in September to the chief command of the patriot troops in the Southern States, had arrived in South Carolina, and on the 6th of January (1779), made

his headquarters at Purysburg, twenty-five miles above Savannah. There he began the formation of an army to oppose the British invasion. It was composed of the remnants of Howe's troops, some Continental regiments, and some raw recruits.

Campbell, elated by his easy victory, began the work of subjugation with a strong hand. He promised protection to the inhabitants provided all their able-bodied men would "support the royal government with their arms." They had the alternative to fight their own countrymen or fly to the interior uplands or into South Carolina. Howe's captive troops, who refused to take up arms for the king, were thrust into loathsome prison-ships, where many perished with disease. It was evident that the war was to be waged without mercy, and this conviction gave strength to the determined patriots in the field, for they were fighting for their lives and the welfare of those whom they loved most dearly.

Prevost sent Campbell up the Georgia side of the Savannah, to Augusta, with about two thousand men, for the purpose of encouraging the Tories, opening communication with the Creek Indians in the west, and subduing the Whigs into passiveness. At about the same time a band of Tory marauders, led by Colonel Boyd, desolated a portion of the South Carolina border while on their way to join the royal troops. They were pursued across the Savannah River by Colonel Andrew Pickens, with some militia of the District of Ninety-Six, so named from a fort there ninety-six miles from Charleston. In a sharp skirmish with a part of Pickens' men, Boyd lost a hundred of his followers; and on the 14th of February (1779) he was defeated by that officer in a skirmish on Kettle Creek, within two days march of Augusta. Boyd and seventy of his men were killed, and seventy-five were made prisoners. The latter were convicted of high treason, but only five of them were executed by order of the civil authorities of South Carolina.

Campbell was alarmed and Lincoln was encouraged by the defeat of Boyd. The latter then had three thousand men in camp. He sent General Ashe, of North Carolina, with almost two thousand men, consisting of a few Continentals and the remainder of militia, with some pieces of cannon, to drive Campbell from Augusta, and confine the invaders to the low and unhealthful regions near the sea, where, it was hoped, the deadly malaria from the swamps during the heats of summer, would decimate the regiments of the enemy. Ashe crossed the Savannah near Augusta, when Campbell fled seaward. Ashe pursued him forty miles to Brier Creek, near its confluence with the Savannah, in Severn county, Georgia, and there encamped in a strong position, his flanks thoroughly covered by swamps. Prevost, marching up with a considerable force to assist Campbell, discovered Ashe. Making a

wide circuit, he gained the North Carolinian's rear, surprised him, and after a brief and sharp resistance (March 3, 1779), defeated and dispersed his troops. They fled in every direction, wading the swamp and swimming the river. Many perished, others returned to their homes, and only about four hundred and fifty rejoined Lincoln. By this disaster that general lost one-fourth of his army. It led to the temporary re-establishment of royal government in Georgia, which Prevost proclaimed. Meanwhile the British had suffered a reverse on the coast of South Carolina. Major Gardiner (one of the managers of the *Mischianza*), who had been sent from Savannah with some troops to take possession of Port Royal Island, about sixty miles south of Charleston, preparatory to a march upon that city, had been defeated by the Charleston militia under General Moultrie, in a skirmish there on the 3d of February. Almost every British officer, excepting the commander, and many private soldiers, were killed or made prisoners. Gardiner and a few men escaped in boats: and Moultrie, crossing to the main, joined Lincoln at Purysburg.



CHAPTER LXXIX.

Invasion of South Carolina—The British Before Charleston—Their Retreat to Savannah—Battle at Stono Ferry—Character of the Invasion—British Marauding Expeditions in the North—Exploit of Putnam—Raid into Virginia—Capture of Stony Point—Desolation of Coast Towns in Connecticut—Recapture of Stony Point—Lee's Exploit at Paulus's Hook—Indian Raids—Sullivan's Campaign Against the Indians, and the Result—The Outlook—The American Army—D'Estaing Again on Our Coast—Siege of Savannah, and the Result.

HAVING military possession of Georgia, General Prevost prepared to attempt the subjugation of South Carolina. Informed that Lincoln was far up the Savannah River, and assured by timid men who professed loyalty and took protection from Prevost, to save their property, that Charleston might be easily captured, the British leader, with about two thousand regulars and a body of Tories and Indians, crossed the river at Puryburg, and took the nearest road leading to that city. When Lincoln heard of this movement, he resolved to attempt to regain possession of Georgia. He was then at the head of five thousand men. Sending a detachment, under Colonel Harris, to reinforce Moultrie, who was flying before Prevost, he crossed the river near Augusta, and marched down its Georgia side for Savannah, hoping to recapture that place, or to recall Prevost. When he discovered that the latter continued to press on toward Charleston, Lincoln recrossed the Savannah, and gave chase. At the same time Governor Rutledge, who had been gathering recruits near Orangeburg, was hastening toward Charleston with six hundred men; and at the beginning of May was seen the interesting spectacle of four armies marching upon the South Carolina capital.

Prevost had marked his pathway with plundering and fire; and Lincoln was hailed as a deliverer by the people who swelled his ranks. Stopping to exercise cruelty, Prevost was so tardy, that Rutledge, Harris, and Moultrie were allowed to reach Charleston before his arrival, and the inhabitants were given an opportunity to cast up strong intrenchments across the Neck. It was the morning of the 11th of May before he appeared in front of these works and made a demand of the instant surrender of the town, which was met by a prompt refusal. The works on the Neck were well manned. Fort Moultrie,

in the harbor, was well garrisoned; and the leaders of the troops felt confident that they could protect the city. The day was spent by both parties in preparations for a serious conflict; and the succeeding night was a fearful one for the citizens of Charleston, for they expected to be greeted at dawn with bomb-shells and red-hot shot. During that day of preparation, Count Pulaski, who was at Haddrell's Point, with his legion, was ferried over the Cooper River, and at noon he led his infantry to attack the British advanced-guard, when he was repulsed with heavy loss.

That evening there was an important executive council held by Governor Rutledge, in Charleston. The Continental Congress had been advised of the exposed condition of both Georgia and South Carolina, and the difficulty of raising recruits there, because the planters, fearing a servile insurrection, would not leave their homes. Washington's army was too weak to allow any reinforcements to be sent to Lincoln. When young John Laurens heard in the camp of the peril of his State, he was anxious to fly to its protection, proposing to place himself at the head of a regiment of faithful slaves. His friend, Colonel Alexander Hamilton, in a letter to the President of Congress, recommended the arming of the negroes; and Laurens said to Washington, that with three thousand of such black men as he could raise, he could drive the British out of Georgia. But Washington shook his head in doubt. The Congress, however, having nothing better to offer, recommended the extreme Southern States to select three thousand of their most trusted slaves, and arm them for battle under white officers.

While the British were marching on Charleston, Laurens arrived from Philadelphia, with the recommendation of the Congress. The South Carolinians were greatly irritated by what seemed the indifference of the Congress to their imminent danger. Many of them regretted having entered upon the struggle for independence, and were favorable to secession from the Union and assuming a neutral position. Governor Rutledge, dreading the taking of Charleston by storm, sent a flag to Prevost to ask his terms for a capitulation, and was answered: "Peace and protection for the loyal; the condition of prisoners of war for the remainder." Some of the military officers who were invited to the council, declared the ability of the troops to successfully defend the city, and leading patriots decided in favor of resistance; but a majority of the council declared in favor of neutrality, and leaving the question as to whether South Carolina should finally belong to Great Britain or the United States, to be decided by a treaty between those powers. Young Laurens was requested to carry a message to that effect to Prevost, but he scornfully refused the duty. A civilian was sent, but Prevost refused to treat with the civil power, and demanded the sur-

render of the troops as prisoners of war. Moultrie, who was present, said to the governor and his council: "Then we will fight it out," and left their presence. Gadsden, the stern patriot, and another, followed Moultrie out, and said to him: "Act according to your own judgment, and we will support you."

Ignorant of these deliberations, the citizens of Charleston momentarily expected an attack from the invaders. Every able-bodied man was at his post. The night wore away, and at the early dawn—the opening of a beautiful and serene day—not a scarlet coat was to be seen in front of the lines. Had the city awakened from a terrible dream? Beyond the Ashley, a long line of soldiers of flame-color uniform, with glittering fire-arms, were seen crossing the ferry to James' Island. During the night Prevost had been informed that Lincoln was near with four thousand men, and he and his army had withdrawn in haste and abandoned the siege. They retreated leisurely toward Savannah, by way of the sea-islands along the coast. For more than a month a British detachment lingered on John's Island. On the 20th of June they had a fight with some of Lincoln's men at Stono Ferry, where the British had some works garrisoned by eight hundred men under Colonel Maitland. The contest was severe, each party losing almost three hundred men. The Americans, who had attempted to dislodge their enemy, were repulsed. But the British retreated a few days afterward to Port Royal, established a military post at Beaufort and on Lady's Island near, and finally made their way to Savannah. The hot season put an end to military operations in the South, and for awhile that region enjoyed comparative repose.

This invasion of the richest portion of South Carolina seems more like a raid for plunder than an expedition for conquest. Almost every house over a wide extent of country was entered by the soldiery, who stripped the women of their jewelry and fine clothing, the men of their money, valuable horses and other wealth, and the houses of plate, furniture, bedding, and rare ornaments. Tombs were actually rifled by the soldiery in search of treasure. Gardens were devastated, beautiful conservatories were laid waste, and live-stock and fowls were wantonly slaughtered. So complete was the devastation of the country, that many hundred fugitive slaves died of starvation in the woods, many perished by fever in the British camp, and full three thousand were carried into Georgia by the army, many of whom were sent to the West Indies and sold. This was done under the sanction of the king and his ministers. Germain had instructed the British officers to confiscate and sell not only the negroes employed in the American army, but those who voluntarily sought British protection.

While these events were occurring in the South, Sir Henry Clinton was

not idle in the North, but sought to distress the Americans by marauding expeditions. In this business Ex-Governor Tryon, who had been named "The Wolf" by the suffering people of North Carolina over whom he had been ruler, was a willing worker. Late in April, 1779, he left camp near Kingsbridge, at the northern end of New York Island, with fifteen hundred regulars and Hessians, to destroy some salt-works at Horse Neck and attack an American detachment under General Putnam at Greenwich, on the



AN INVASION OF PLUNDERERS.

borders of Connecticut. Putnam's scouts had discovered them, and on the morning of the 26th, he had his little band drawn up in battle array, with a two-gun battery to meet them. They approached in solid column, horse and foot. Perceiving their overwhelming numbers, Putnam ordered a retreat. That retreat became a rout. The soldiers fled to adjacent swamps, while the general, putting spurs to his horse, sped toward Stamford, pursued by several of the British dragoons. Near a meeting-house was a very steep hill around the brow of which the road swept in a broad curve. Up the acclivity

some stone steps had been constructed, to allow the people beyond a nearer way to the meeting-house. When Putnam reached the turn in the road at the brow of the hill, the dragoons were so near, that he must either dash down the declivity or surrender. Choosing the former alternative, he spurred the horse down the hill at full speed, in a zigzag course, traversing a few of the lower steps, and escaped, for the troopers dared not follow him. They sent a few harmless bullets after him, and he flung curses upon the British behind him, in his flight. Tryon plundered the inhabitants there of everything valuable, destroyed a few salt-works and some vessels, damaged the houses of Whigs, and then went back to Kingsbridge. Putnam rallied a few of his men and some militia and pursued the marauders. He recaptured some of the plunder, which he returned to the inhabitants, and made thirty-eight of the British prisoners, having lost in the affair about twenty of his own men.

A little later, a marauding expedition appeared on the coast of Virginia. On the 9th of May, a squadron commanded by Sir George Collier, entered Hampton Roads, with land troops under General Matthews, who desolated the region on both sides of the Elizabeth River from the Roads to Norfolk and Portsmouth. After destroying a vast amount of property, they withdrew and returned to New York; and on the 30th of May this naval force accompanied Sir Henry Clinton up the Hudson River to dislodge the Americans at Stony Point and Verplanck's Point opposite. In this expedition, the troops were commanded by General Vaughan, the officer who led the marauders who burned Kingston in the autumn of 1777. The British landed on the morning of the 31st, when the little garrison at Stony Point fled to the Highlands. The next morning (June 1, 1779) the guns of the captured fortress were pointed toward Fort Fayette, opposite. The little garrison there, attacked by troops in the rear, surrendered as prisoners of war. The loss of these forts was lamented by Washington, and his first care was to recover them.

These achievements accomplished, Sir Henry sent Collier with his squadron to the shores of Connecticut, with a band of marauders under Governor Tryon, about twenty-five hundred strong, composed of British and Hessians. The latter were sent on these expeditions, because they were more cruel than the Britons, and delighted in plundering, burning buildings, and ill-treating the defenceless inhabitants; a mode of warfare ordered by Lord George Germain to awe the people into submission. The expedition left New York on the night of the 3d of July, and in the course of about a week, laid waste and carried away a vast amount of property. They plundered New Haven on the 5th, laid East Haven in ashes on the 6th,

destroyed Fairfield on the 8th, and plundered and burned Norwalk on the 12th. Not content with this wanton destruction of property, the invaders cruelly abused the defenceless inhabitants. The soldiery were given free license to oppress the people, Tryon encouraging instead of restraining them in their horrid work. The Hessians were his incendiaries. To them he entrusted the operation of the torch and the most brutal acts, which British



PUTNAM'S ESCAPE.

soldiers would not perform. Whilst Norwalk was in flames, Tryon sat in a rocking-chair upon a hill in the neighborhood, a delighted spectator of the scene. Nero fiddled while Rome was burning; this puny imitator of the emperor made merry over the conflagration of a defenceless town inhabited by people of his own nation. In allusion to this and kindred expeditions Trumbull, in his *McFingal*, makes Malcolm say:

“Behold like whelps of British lion,
Our warriors, Clinton, Vaughan and Tryon,
March forth with patriotic joy
To ravish, plunder and destroy.
Great gen’rals, foremost in their nation,
The journeymen of Desolation!

Like Sampson's foxes, each assails,
Let loose with firebrands in their tails,
And spreads destruction more forlorn
Than they among Philistines' corn."

When Tryon (whom the English *people* abhorred for his wrong doings in America) had completed the destruction of these pleasant New England villages, he boasted of his extreme clemency in leaving a single house standing on the coast of Connecticut.

The Americans, meanwhile, were preparing to strike the British heavy and unexpected blows. The brave and impetuous General Wayne was then in command of infantry in the Hudson Highlands. Washington was at New Windsor just above them. Wayne proposed to surprise the garrison at Stony Point, and take the fort by storm. "Can you do it?" asked Washington. "I'll storm hell, if you'll only plan it, general," replied Wayne. Washington consented to let him try Stony Point first; and on the evening of the 15th of July, Wayne was within half a mile of the bold, rocky promontory with a few hundred men whom he had led secretly through the mountains, from near Fort Montgomery. As stealthily they approached the fort at midnight, arranged in two columns, a greater part of the little force crossed a narrow causeway over a morass, in the rear, and with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets, marched up to the assault. A forlorn hope of picked men led the way to make openings in the *abatis* at the two points of attack. The alarmed sentinels fired their muskets, and the aroused garrison flew to arms. The stillness of the night was suddenly broken by the rattle of musketry and the roar of cannon from the ramparts. In the face of a terrible storm of bullets and grape-shot, the assailants forced their way into the fort at the point of the bayonet. Wayne, who led one of the divisions in person, had been brought to his knees by a stunning blow from a musket-ball that grazed his head. Believing himself to be mortally wounded, he exclaimed: "March on! carry me into the fort, for I will die at the head of my column!" He soon recovered, and at two o'clock in the morning, he wrote to Washington: "The fort and garrison, with General Johnston, are ours. Our officers and men behaved like men determined to be free." In this assault, the Americans lost about one hundred men; fifteen killed and the remainder wounded. The British had sixty-three killed; and Johnston, the commander, and five hundred and forty-three officers and men, were made prisoners. The British ships lying in the river near by, slipped their cables and moved down the stream. The Americans attempted to recapture Fort Fayette, on Verplanck's Point opposite, but failed. They removed the heavy ordnance and the stores from Stony Point to West Point,

for the republicans were not strong enough to garrison and hold it, and abandoning the post it was repossessed by the British a few days afterward. The Congress awarded a gold medal to Wayne, and a silver medal each to Colonels De Fleury and Stewart, the leaders of the two main divisions, for their gallantry on this occasion.

This brilliant victory—one of the most brilliant of the war—was followed by another bold exploit a month later. The British had a fortified post at Paulus's Hook (now Jersey City) opposite New York. Between three and four o'clock on the morning of the 19th of August (1779), its garrison was



WAYNE AT STONY POINT.

surprised by Major Henry Lee, who had come from the rear of Hoboken with three hundred picked men, followed by Lord Stirling with a strong reserve force. The British garrison, unsuspecting of danger near, were careless. Lee entered the loosely-barred gate of the outer works, and gained the interior of the main intrenchments before he was discovered, the sentinels being absent or asleep. He captured one hundred and fifty-nine of the garrison. The redoubt, in which the remainder had taken refuge, was too strong to be affected by small arms, and as he was without cannon, Lee retreated, bearing away his scores of captives. For this exploit the Congress honored him with a vote of thanks and a gold medal. In this expedition, Lee had only two men killed and three wounded.

These events elated the Americans. A sad one in the far east lessened their joy. Massachusetts had fitted out about forty war-vessels and transports to convey almost a thousand men to attempt the capture of a British

fort at Castine, at the mouth of the Penobscot River. They arrived on the 25th of July, and landed on the 28th. Too weak to take the fort by storm, they waited more than a fortnight for reinforcements. Meanwhile Sir George Collier sailed into the Penobscot with a British squadron, just as the republicans were about to assail the fort (August 14), and attacked the American flotilla. He captured two war-vessels, when the rest, with the transports, fled up the river, and were burned by their crews. Sir George took many of the soldiers and sailors prisoners, and drove the remainder into the wild forests, where they suffered intensely while making their way back to Boston. The survivors reached that town toward the close of September.

The atrocities of the Indians in the valley of Wyoming and around the headwaters of the Susquehanna in the summer and autumn of 1778, kindled the hottest indignation of the American people, and it was determined by the Congress to chastise the savages who committed the murderous deeds, especially the Senecas. In the summer of 1779, Washington sent General Sullivan, with a little army of Continental troops, into the heart of the country of the Six Nations, all of whom, excepting the Oneidas, had been won over to the royal cause by the Johnsons and other British emissaries. Sullivan gathered his troops in the Wyoming Valley, and with these, three thousand strong, he marched up the Susquehanna on the last day of July. On the 22d of August he was joined, at Tioga Point, by General James Clinton, who had come from the Mohawk Valley with about fifteen hundred men. Meanwhile there had been hostilities in the wilderness. In April several hundred soldiers, led by Colonels Van Schaick and Willett, had penetrated the Onondaga country from Fort Schuyler, destroyed three villages, burned the provisions of the inhabitants, and slaughtered their live-stock. Three hundred Onondaga braves were immediately sent out upon the war-path charged with the vengeance of the nation. They spread terror and desolation far and near, in conjunction with other savages. They pushed down to the waters of the Delaware and the borders of Ulster county. In July, Brant, with Indians and Tories, fell upon and devastated the settlement of Minnisink in the night. Growing crops were destroyed, and cattle and other plunder were carried away. One hundred and fifty militia and volunteers went in pursuit, when, on the 22d of July, the savages turned upon them. A severe conflict ensued; the republicans were beaten, surrounded, and murdered after they were made prisoners. Only thirty of the patriotic pursuers survived to tell the dreadful story. These events gave strength to the courage of Sullivan's men.

The forces of Sullivan and Clinton, at Tioga Point, numbered five thousand men. They moved cautiously, and on the morning of the 29th, dis-

persed a party of eight hundred Indians and Tories strongly fortified at Chemung, now Elmira. Brant was at the head of the Indians, and Sir John Johnson, with the Butlers and Captain McDonald, led the Tories. The fight was severe. Sullivan's army rested on the battle-ground that night, and the next morning pushed on in pursuit of the fugitives.

That pursuit was quick and sharp. A part of the army penetrated the wilderness to the Genesee Valley, and a part to Cayuga Lake. In the course of three weeks, they destroyed forty-three Indian villages, with a vast amount of food in fields, gardens, and garrisons—one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn. Flourishing and fruitful orchards were cut down; hundreds of gardens were desolated; the inhabitants were driven into the forests to starve, and were hunted like wild beasts; their altars were overturned, and their graves were trampled upon by strangers; and a beautiful well-watered country, teeming with a prosperous people, and just rising from a wilderness state by the aid of cultivation, to a level with the productive regions of civilization, was desolated, and cast back almost a century. This scourging awed the Indians for the moment, but did not crush them. The fires of hatred were fiercely kindled, and spread like a conflagration far among the tribes upon the great lakes and in the valley of the Ohio. Washington, who ordered the chastisement, was called "The Town Destroyer." Cornplanter, a chief of the Senecas, standing before President Washington, said, in the course of a long speech: "When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you *The Town Destroyer*; and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers."

With the chastisement of the Indians, the campaign of 1779 ended in the North, where, at the close of the year, events appeared somewhat encouraging to the Americans. The British had withdrawn from Rhode Island, and had abandoned the forts on the Hudson, giving the freedom of King's Ferry, at Stony Point, to the Americans; and nowhere in New England, west of the Penobscot, did the enemy hold a foot of the soil. At the same time the army and the finances of the Americans were in a wretched condition, and gave a gloomy appearance to the future of the republican cause. The army, cantoned in New Jersey, were enveloped in snow two feet in depth, before the middle of December, and suffered dreadfully, at times, because of a lack of the necessaries of life. Washington's headquarters were again at Morristown, in the midst of a fertile region and patriotic people. Fortunately for the army and the cause, the crops in New Jersey during the year just closed, were abundant, and the people were willing to do all in their power to meet the requisitions upon the several counties from time to

time, by the commander-in-chief, for supplies, notwithstanding the Continental bills offered in payment were rapidly depreciating. At the close of 1779 one dollar in gold or silver would purchase thirty dollars of paper money. Terms of enlistment of many of the troops would soon expire, and large bounties offered to those who should engage "for the war" brought very few into the ranks. The Congress could compel nothing; yet their appeals to the people—to the militia—in serious emergencies, seldom failed



COUNT D'ESTAING.

GENERAL WAYNE.

GENERAL SULLIVAN.

to receive an encouraging response. The Congress, the army and the people, never lost faith in the cause. That faith, and the generous aid afforded by the inhabitants of New Jersey from time to time, saved the army from disbanding in the winter of 1779-80.

We have observed that D'Estaing sailed to the West Indies late in 1778 to attack the British possessions there. He found the naval strength of the enemy in those waters to be superior to that of the French, and for six months he kept his fleet sheltered in the Bay of Port Royal. After that, he fought Admiral Byron successfully; and on the first of September, in response to the expressed wishes of the Congress and the urgent appeals of the South Carolinians, he appeared so suddenly off the coast of Georgia, with a power-

ful fleet, that he surprised and captured four British ships-of-war. He announced his willingness to co-operate with the republican army in the reduction of Savannah, provided he should not be detained too long on that dangerous coast, for he could find neither roadsteads, harbor, nor offing for his twenty great ships-of-the-line. His entire fleet consisted of thirty-three sail, bearing a large number of very heavy guns.

On the appearance of the French fleet, Prevost summoned the troops from all his outposts to come to the defence of Savannah. Three hundred negroes from the neighboring plantations and others not engaged were pressed into the service to strengthen the fortifications. Thirteen redoubts and fifteen batteries with connecting lines of intrenchments were speedily completed, upon which seventy-six cannon were mounted, and before them strong *abatis* were laid. The works on Tybee Island, at the mouth of the Savannah River, were also strengthened. All of these defences were constructed under the supervision of the talented engineer, Major Moncrief.

Meanwhile General Lincoln had marched from Charleston and concentrated his army at Zubley's Ferry, on the 12th of September. On the same day the French troops of D'Estaing's fleet landed below Savannah, and moved up to a point within three miles of the town. Lincoln had sent Count Pulaski, with his legion of horse and foot, and McIntosh's infantry, to attack the British outposts, while he moved cautiously toward Savannah. On the 16th, he was within three miles of the town, with his whole force. On that day D'Estaing summoned Prevost to surrender the fort to the arms of the French king. The latter asked for a truce until the next day, for he hourly expected eight hundred men from Beaufort, under Maitland. It was unwisely granted. Meanwhile the British employed a large force in strengthening their works. Maitland came in time, warm with a fatal fever, and then Prevost sent a defiant answer to D'Estaing. The golden opportunity for the combined armies was lost by the unwise forbearance of the French commander.

It was now perceived that the town must be taken by regular approaches, and not by assault. The heavy French ordnance, and the stores, were brought up from their landing-place, and on the 23d of September the siege began. It was continued, with varying success, until the 8th of October. D'Estaing became impatient to depart, for the season of dangerous gales on that coast had arrived. It was rumored, too, that Admiral Byron was approaching with a British fleet. A council was held. The engineers decided that it would take ten days more to reach the British lines by trenches; whereupon D'Estaing told Lincoln that the siege must be raised immediately or an attempt must be made to take the place by storm. The

latter alternative was chosen, and the sanguinary work began the next day, October 9, 1779. The plan of the attack was revealed to Prevost the night before, by a citizen of Charleston, named Cunny, a sergeant-major of Lincoln's army, who had deserted to the enemy. It gave the British a decided advantage.

About forty-five hundred men of the combined armies moved to the attack just before the dawn, completely shrouded in a dense fog, and covered by a heavy fire from the French batteries. They advanced in three columns, the main one commanded by D'Estaing in person, assisted by Lincoln; another led by Count Dillon, and a third by General Isaac Huger, of Charleston. The latter was to make a feigned attack to divert attention from the movements of the other two. The right of the British, where the principal assault was to begin, was commanded by the gallant Maitland, who was then suffering from the fever that finally destroyed him. His chief defence was a strong work on the Augusta road, known as the Spring-Hill redoubt. This D'Estaing was to attack, while Count Dillon was to make his way along the edge of a swamp to the weakest point of the British lines on the east, and assail them there.

Dillon became entangled in the swamp, and failed. At dawn D'Estaing and Lincoln attacked the redoubt. A fierce battle ensued, and lasted almost an hour. D'Estaing was wounded and carried to his camp. Whole ranks of the assailants were mowed down by bullets and grape-shot; yet the gallant allies pressed forward, leaped the ditch, and placed the French and American flags on the parapet of the redoubt. Fresh forces within pressed them back into the ditch, and tore down the ensigns. The American flags were two that were embroidered and presented to the Second South Carolina regiment by Mrs. Susannah Elliot of Charleston, and were planted on the parapet by Lieutenants Hume and Bush. These officers were both killed. Lieutenant Gray seized the standards and kept them erect. He, too, was slain, when Sergeant Jasper, the hero of Fort Sullivan, rushed to the rescue of the flags, and fell into the ditch mortally wounded. "Tell Mrs. Elliot," said the dying hero, "that I lost my life supporting the colors she presented to our regiment." The flags were of silk; a blue field bearing a white crescent.

While this fearful struggle was going on at the redoubt, Huger and Pulaski were trying to force their way into the enemy's works on different sides of the town. The latter, at the head of his legion and with his banner in his hand, was fighting his way not far from the Spring-Hill redoubt, when he was mortally wounded by a grape-shot. His troops were driven back. Already the French had withdrawn from the assault, and the Continentals

under Lincoln were falling back. After five hours hard fighting, the allies showed a white flag, and asked for a truce to bury their dead. It was granted. D'Estaing and Lincoln held a consultation about the future. The former had lost many of his men, and wished to abandon the siege; the latter, confident that a victory might be speedily won, wished to continue it.



DEATH OF PULASKI.

The former refused to remain any longer; and on the evening of the 18th, the allies withdrew—the French to their ships and the Americans to Zubley's Ferry. Lincoln made his way to Charleston with the remains of his army, and at the beginning of November, the French fleet sailed for France. The allied armies had lost over a thousand men in the siege and assault; the British only one hundred and twenty. The South Carolinians were disheartened by the result, and looked to the future with gloomy forebodings.



CHAPTER LXXX.

The Continental Navy—Its Organization—Success of Cruisers—A Cruise Around Ireland—Doings on the American Coast—Loss of British Vessels—Notable Cruisers—John Paul Jones in British Waters—Robbery of the Earl of Selkirk—Capture of the Drake—Activity of American Cruisers—Jones's Great Fight off the Coast of Scotland—His Rewards—The King and Parliament—Ireland—Pownell's Prophecy—The Armed Neutrality—Foreign Negotiations—Lafayette.

WE have observed on page 828 that late in 1775, the Congress ordered the establishment of a Continental navy. The thirteen vessels then authorized to be built or purchased were furnished early in 1776, and these, with many privateers, did good service on the ocean. The affairs of the little navy were at first managed by a committee of Congress only. This committee was modified from time to time, and finally, in October, 1779, it assumed the form and name of a "Board of Admiralty," with a salaried secretary, and was composed of members of Congress and three paid commissioners who were not members of that body. This organization continued until 1781, when General Alexander McDougal was appointed "Secretary of Marine," whose functions were essentially those of our Secretary of the Navy at the present time. Very soon afterward he was superseded by an "Agent of Marine," and in that office the name of Robert Morris often appeared. That eminent financier of the Revolution had more to do with the management of naval affairs than any other man. He sent out privateers on his own account, a business in which other patriots engaged. Washington was, at one time, part owner of a privateer.

Esek Hopkins, of Rhode Island, was appointed commander-in-chief of the little Continental navy. The avowed object of the armament was to intercept British vessels bearing supplies for the British armies in America, but the Continental war-ships were frequently more aggressive. Hopkins sailed on his first cruise in February, 1776. He left the Delaware with a small squadron of five vessels, carrying an aggregate of ninety-eight guns. The *Alfred*, 28, was his flag-ship, and his first-lieutenant was John Paul Jones, who afterward became famous. Jones raised on the *Alfred*, in the

Delaware, in December, 1775, the first American ensign ever shown on an American vessel-of-war. Hopkins's captains were Whipple, Biddle, J. B. Hopkins and Hazard, all of them but Biddle, Rhode Island men. The first cruise was against Lord Dunmore, then distressing the Virginia coast. Hopkins extended his cruise to the Bahama Islands to capture British stores at Nassau, New Providence, and was successful. Among the spoils were one hundred cannon. Retiring, he operated off the New England coasts; but the Congress censured him for departing from the line of his instructions, and dismissed him from the service. His lieutenant, Jones, was placed in command of the *Alfred*, the following autumn. No naval commander-in-chief was subsequently appointed.

Jones was always successful. While in command of the *Providence*, in September, 1776, he was chased by two British ships-of-war off the Carolina coasts, but escaped, and sailing eastward as far as Nova Scotia, he captured and carried into Newport fifteen prizes. Meanwhile Whipple and Biddle were equally successful off the eastern coasts; and the New England colony vessels were very active. These, and the Continental cruisers, deprived the British army of about five hundred soldiers during the summer and fall of 1776. No less than three hundred and forty-two British vessels fell into the hands of the Americans that year.

In the fall of 1776, the Continental ship *Reprisal*, Captain Wickes, carried Dr. Franklin, as American Commissioner, to France, where she cruised in European waters, the first American armed ship that had appeared there. She captured several British prizes in the Bay of Biscay. Among these was the royal English packet on its way from Falmouth to Lisbon. These prizes were sold in French ports, and the proceeds were used by the American commissioners in Paris for purchasing other vessels in French ports. In the summer of 1777, Wickes, with a little squadron of three vessels, sailed entirely around Ireland, sweeping the channel in its whole breadth, and capturing or destroying a great number of British merchant vessels. This cruise produced a powerful impression on the public mind in England, and France was required to renounce its friendship for the rebellious colonists or pronounce a disclaimer. Policy, then, dictated the latter course, and the American vessels were ordered to leave the French coast. When the *Reprisal* was returning homeward, she was wrecked on the coast of Newfoundland, and Captain Wickes, and all of his people but the cook, perished.

The duplicity of France, at that time, caused much trouble. Franklin carried with him a number of blank commissions from the Congress, for army and navy officers who might be willing to enter the Continental service. One of them was given to Captain Conyngham, who sailed from Dun-

querque (Dunkirk), on the northern coast of France, in the brig *Surprise*, in May, 1777. He captured two British vessels and re-entered the harbor of Dunkirk, when, on account of the remonstrance of the British ambassador, they were released and their captors were imprisoned. Unwilling to offend the American commissioners, the French government allowed Conyngham to sail from Dunkirk in the *Revenge*, with which he unsuccessfully sought the ships bearing the German mercenaries to America. He made many



A NAVAL ENGAGEMENT IN 1779.

prizes, with the proceeds of which the Commissioners in Paris were supplied with money. General alarm prevailed. Marine insurance rose to twenty-five per centum; and so loth were British merchants to ship goods in English bottoms, that at one time forty French vessels were together loading in the Thames.

While these events were occurring in European waters, there was no less activity shown by American cruisers off the western shores of the Atlantic. These contributed a greater share to the list of three hundred and forty-two British prizes captured. The success of these vessels off our coast, and naval events on Lake Champlain, closed the maritime operations of 1776, with honor to the Americans. Early in 1777, the *Randolph*, Captain Biddle, sailed on her first cruise. She was successful; but in the spring of 1778, while fighting a British vessel-of-war, she blew up, and Biddle and all of his crew perished, excepting four men. During 1777, Captains Manly, McNeil, Saltonstall, Olney, Hinman, Thompson and others made successful cruises; and the year closed with a loss to the British of four hundred and sixty-seven merchantmen, notwithstanding they had seventy vessels-of-war in American waters.

Soon after the conclusion of the treaty of alliance in 1778, French vessels-of-war went out on the ocean to co-operate with the Americans, and the Congress fitted out some more armed ships at the same time. Among them, the *Alliance*, 32, became the favorite ship of the patriots. The most conspicuous naval operations of that year were the cruise of the *Providence*, Captain Rathburne, to the Bahamas; of the *Raleigh*, Captain Thompson, and the *Alfred*, Captain Hinman, from L'Orient; the *Virginia*, Captain Nicholson, on the American coast; of John Paul Jones in the *Ranger*, in British waters, and of Captain Barry in the *Raleigh*, in the waters of the Atlantic ocean. The *Alfred* was captured, in March, 1778, by two British war-ships, in European waters, and at about the same time the *Virginia* was lost in Chesapeake Bay. Early in April (1778), Jones appeared in British waters for the first time. The *Ranger* was an inferior vessel, and yet her commander, after making some important captures in the British Channel, undertook the bold task of seizing the English ship-of-war *Drake*, lying in the harbor of Carrickfergus, Ireland. He failed. Then he sailed to the English coast, entered the port of Whitehaven, seized the forts, spiked the cannon, and, setting fire to a ship in the midst of a hundred other vessels, departed. The flames were extinguished and the shipping was saved; and from that day to this, the name of Jones has been associated in the English mind with ideas of piracy and devastation, and he is called a "pirate" and "corsair" by English historians. His exploit spread terror along the British coasts, and produced a profound sensation throughout the kingdom.

Emboldened by this success, Jones proceeded to the coast of his native country (Scotland), cruised up and down between the Solway and the Clyde, and attempted the capture of the Earl of Selkirk, at his seat near the mouth of the Dee. The earl was the early friend of Jones's father; and beneath his majestic oak and huge chestnut trees, our hero had played in his boyhood. He anchored the *Ranger* in the Solway at noon, and with a few men in a single boat, went to the wooded promontory on which the earl's fine mansion stood, where he learned that his lordship was absent. Disappointed, he ordered his men back to the boat, when his lieutenant, a large and fiery man, proposed to carry away the plate of the earl, in imitation of English plunderers on the American coasts. Jones would not entertain the proposal. The memory of old associations forbade it. He was standing in the shadows of the old wood wherein he had enjoyed life in his childhood. From the hand of Lady Selkirk he had received nothing but kindness. Again he ordered his men back, but they and the lieutenant, eager for prize money, made his expostulations vain, and he ordered them to perform, what he

deemed to be a mean robbery, with the greatest delicacy. The frightened Lady Selkirk delivered up the plate with her own hands; and when the marauders returned to the boat, they found Jones walking moodily among the old trees. He had laid his plans for the future. When the prizes of the *Ranger* were sold in the harbor of Brest, in May, he bought the plate and returned it to Lady Selkirk with a letter, in which he expressed his regret because of the annoyance she had suffered.

Late in April, Jones again appeared off Carrickfergus, when the *Drake* went out to give the *Ranger* battle. They fought more than an hour, when the *Drake*, much shattered, and forty of her men slain, surrendered. With this prize Jones went around Ireland and arrived at Brest on the 8th of May. Meanwhile D'Estaing had sailed for the Delaware, and his arrival made the American cruisers more active and bold. Captain Barry performed some notable exploits in the fall of 1778; and early in 1779, the *Alliance*, Captain Landais, sailed for France, bearing Lafayette, who went home to urge his king to send troops to America.

During the spring and summer of 1779, the American cruisers were very active. In March, the *Hampden*, a Massachusetts ship, had a severe fight with an English Indiaman, and was much damaged, but escaped capture. In April, Captain J. B. Hopkins, sailing on a cruise from Boston, captured several British vessels bound for Georgia with supplies for Prevost. In June, Captains Whipple and Rathburne, in command of two ships, captured several British merchant-vessels under convoy of a ship-of-the-line. In a money point of view, this was one of the most successful enterprises of the war. The estimated value of eight of the prizes taken into Boston was over a million dollars.

While these events were occurring in the western hemisphere, the French monarch and the American commissioners joined in sending Paul Jones, with five vessels, from L'Orient to the coast of Scotland, at the middle of August. His flag-ship was the *Bon-Homme Richard*. Just as he was about to strike some armed British vessels, in the harbor of Leith, a storm arose, which drove his squadron into the North Sea. When the tempest subsided he drew near the land, and cruising along the coast of Scotland, he captured thirteen prizes by the middle of September. Consternation prevailed along the coast, and many people buried their plate to keep the "pirate's" hands from it.

Late in September, while the squadron of Jones lay a few leagues north of the mouth of the Humber, he discovered the Baltic fleet of forty merchantmen, convoyed by the *Serapis*, a 44-gun ship, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of 22 guns, stretching seaward from behind Flamborough

Head. Here was a tempting prize for which he had sought. Jones signalled for a general chase, and all but the *Alliance*, Captain Landais, obeyed. The British vessels immediately prepared to defend the merchantmen; and while they, and the *Richard* and *Pallas* were manœuvring for advantage, night fell upon the scene. The darkness did not restrain the impetuous Jones. At seven o'clock in the evening, the *Richard* was within musket-



PAUL JONES ENCOURAGING HIS MEN.

shot distance of the *Serapis*, when one of the most desperate naval fights ever recorded began. The wind was slack, and as the vessels were struggling for the weather-guage, they came in contact. Their spars and rigging were entangled, when Jones, at the head of his men, attempted to board the *Serapis*. After a sharp and close contest with pike, pistol and cutlass, he was repulsed, when Captain Pearson of the *Serapis*, who could not see

the ensign of the *Richard*, called out: "Has your flag been struck?" Jones shouted, "I have not begun to fight yet."

The vessels now separated, and Jones attempted to lay his ship athwart the hawser of his enemy. He failed, and the wind brought the two ships broadside to broadside, the muzzles of the guns touching each other. Jones instantly lashed the ships together, and in that close embrace they poured their terrible volleys into each other with awful effect. From deck to deck of the entangled vessels the combatants madly rushed, fighting like demons. Very soon the *Richard* was pierced between wind and water with several 18-pound balls, and began to fill. Her ten greater guns were silenced, and only three 9-pounders kept up the cannonade; but the marines in the round top of the *Richard* sent deadly volleys of bullets down upon the struggling Englishmen. Ignited combustibles were scattered over the *Serapis*; and at one time she was on fire in a dozen places. Some cartridges were ignited on her lower deck and blew up the whole of the officers and men that were quartered abaft the mainmast. At half-past nine, just as the moon rose in a cloudless sky, the *Richard* was discovered to be on fire, also, and a scene of appalling grandeur was presented. In the midst of smoke and half-smothered flame, and the incessant roar of great guns, men as furious as wounded tigers were seen struggling hand-to-hand for the mastery. At that moment a cry was raised on the *Richard*—"The ship is sinking!" A frightened gunner ran aft to pull down the American flag, when he found the halyards cut away. He cried, "Quarter, quarter!" until he was silenced by a blow from a discharged pistol which Jones hurled at his head. It fractured his skull, and sent him headlong down the gangway. "Did you ask for quarter?" shouted Pearson. "Never!" replied Jones. "Then I'll give you none," answered the enraged Englishman; and the desperate fight went on more fiercely than before.

The situation of Jones was becoming, every moment, more critical, for his ship could not float much longer. Nothing appeared more hopeless than his prospect for victory. Yet he won it. The flames crept up the rigging of the *Serapis*, and by their glow and the full light of the moon, Jones saw that his double-headed shot had almost cut Pearson's mainmast in two. He hurled another shot upon it, until the tall mast reeled. Pearson saw his great peril, and striking his flag, surrendered to his really weaker foe. Enveloped in sparks and smoke, Pearson said, in a surly manner, as he hurriedly handed his sabre to Jones: "It is painful to deliver up my sword to a man who has fought with a rope around his neck." Jones courteously replied, as he returned the weapon: "Sir, you have fought like a hero, and I make no doubt your sovereign will reward you in the most

ample manner." The king knighted Pearson. When Jones heard of it, he said: "Well, he deserves it ; and if I fall in with him again, I'll make a lord of him."

The battle ceased after raging three hours. Fire was consuming both ships, and all hands turned to fighting the flames. They did so successfully. The vessels were soon disengaged, when the mast of the *Serapis*, which had



been kept erect by the entangled spars and rigging, fell with a tremendous crash, carrying with it the mizzen-topmast. The *Richard* was damaged past recovery, and now settled rapidly. Every living person was transferred to the *Serapis*, and sixteen hours afterward the gallant *Bon Homme Richard* went down into the valleys of the North Sea.

The *Countess of Scarborough*, Captain Cotineau, surrendered to the *Pallas* after an hour's fight, notwithstanding the treacherous Landais brought the guns of the *Alliance* to bear upon the latter as he had upon the *Richard*, pretending to mistake them, in the darkness, for the ships of the enemy. This brilliant victory was achieved on the night of the 23d of September. The Baltic fleet had taken shelter behind Flamborough Head. After tossing about on the Northern Sea ten days, Jones ran into the Texel, Holland, with his little squadron and prizes, only a few hours before eleven English ships-of-war that had been sent after him, appeared in the offing. A demand was made upon Holland to deliver up the prizes, and Jones and his

men, to the English authorities. By adroit diplomacy, the States-General refused, without involving themselves in trouble with the British government; and Jones, instead of being conveyed to England as a "corsair," was put in command of the *Alliance*, and did good service for the Americans afterward. His fame spread through the civilized world. The French monarch gave him an elegant gold-mounted sword, bearing on its blade the words: "*Louis XVI, Rewarder of the Valiant Asserter of the Freedom of the Sea.*" He also created him a knight of the Order of Merit. Catharine of Russia conferred on him the ribbon of St. Anne; and from Denmark, he received marks of distinction and a pension. The United States thanked him cordially, and eight years afterward gave him a gold medal.

The exploits of Jones exasperated and alarmed the British. They made even heavy line-of-battle-ships shy of him; and he was regarded as like

"A malignant comet, bearing in its tail,
Death, famine, earthquakes, pestilence, and ruin."

The British government put forth its energies to the utmost to carry on the war against the allies with vigor. The powerful East India Company, whose possessions were menaced by the French, presented to the crown three fine 74-gun ships for the purpose, and offered a bounty for raising six thousand soldiers. When the Parliament assembled on the 25th of November, the king, in his speech, called upon that body to exert their greatest efforts in defence of the country against "one of the most dangerous confederacies ever formed against the crown and people of Great Britain," alluding to France and Spain, the latter being then in an attitude of hostility to the British. He did not mention America in his speech; but he called special attention to Ireland, where the discontents of the people appeared like the prelude to a general revolt. The separation of Ireland from Great Britain was a favorite scheme of Vergennes; but, he said, he would not rely upon the Roman Catholics of that country, as they were naturally in favor of a monarchical government; and he had information that a large body of the most influential Irish Romanists, professing to speak "for all their fellow Roman Catholic subjects," had addressed the English secretary in Ireland, expressing their abhorrence of the "unnatural American rebellion," and their attachment "to the best of kings," at the same time offering him "two millions of faithful and affectionate hearts and hands in defence of his person and government in any part of the world." Vergennes said he would rely upon the numerous Presbyterians who inhabited the North of Ireland, whose fanaticism makes them enemies of all civil or religious authority concentrated in a chief. "They aspire to nothing," he said, "but to give

themselves a form of government like that of the United Provinces of America." These Presbyterians were the men which the government suspected of contemplating rebellion, and the king recommended measures to conciliate them. Some of the sentiments of the king's speech were warmly criticised by the Opposition. The blunders of the ministry, in their dealings with the Americans, were severely condemned; and it was shown that since the beginning of the war against the colonies, more than three hundred million dollars had been added to the national debt. It was shown that Great Britain then had a military establishment by sea and land of not much less than three hundred thousand men, "a force exceeding the ability of any power in Europe to support for a continuance." But the king and his ministers carried their measures triumphantly through Parliament. That body voted one hundred and twenty thousand men for the united service, and appropriated one hundred million dollars to defray the expenses of the campaign of 1780. Yet these formidable preparations to enslave them did not, at that gloomiest period of the war, make the Americans quail or falter. They relied for success upon the justice of their cause, the generosity of human nature, and the favor of a righteous God. Thomas Pownall, in the British Parliament, uttered some remarkable prophecies concerning the future of America, saying, after speaking of what the colonies had done:

"Commerce will open the door to emigration. By constant intercommunication, America will every day approach more and more to Europe.

. . . . North America has become a new primary planet, which, while it takes its own course in its own orbit, must shift the common centre of gravity. These sovereigns of Europe, who shall find this new empire crossing all their settled maxims and accustomed measures, will call upon their ministers and raise men: 'Come, curse me this people, for they are too mighty for me!' These statesmen will be dumb, but the spirit of truth will answer: 'How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed.' Those sovereigns of Europe, who shall call upon their ministers to state to them things as they really do exist in nature, shall form the earliest, the most sure and natural connection with North America, as being, what she is, an independent state. . . . The new empire of America is like a giant ready to run its course. The fostering care with which the rival powers of Europe will nurse it, insure its establishment beyond all doubt or danger."

These significant words were uttered at the beginning of 1780, when the league of leading nations of Europe, known as the "Armed Neutrality" against the pretensions of Great Britain as "Mistress of the Seas," was about to be consummated. That league had been in a formative state many months. It was conceived in the summer of 1778, when British cruisers

seized American vessels engaged in commerce with Russia, in the Baltic Sea. Russia was then assuming colossal proportions among the European powers. They all courted the friendship of her empress, Catharine, who was talented and powerful; and Great Britain tried to induce her to become its ally against France. Catharine coquetted with that government a long time, while her sympathies were with Sweden, Denmark and Holland, whose neutral ships were continually interfered with by British sea-rovers, and whose acts were justified by their government. The French monarch, by a master-stroke of policy, had gained the good-will of the northern maritime powers, by a proclamation of protection to all neutral vessels going to or from a hostile port with contraband goods, whose value did not exceed three-fourths that of the whole cargo. That was in the summer of 1778. From that time, until the opening of 1780, the insolence of British cruisers, and the tone of the British ministers, offended the northern powers. That tone was generally deprecatory and disparaging. "When the Dutch," said Lord North, "say 'We maritime powers,' it reminds me of the cobbler who lived next door to the Lord Mayor, and used to say 'My neighbor and I.'" Official language was sometimes equally offensive. When the Dutch complained of interference with their commerce and appealed to treaties in support of their claims as neutrals, the British minister at the Hague said: "For the present, treaty or no treaty, England will not suffer materials for ship-building to be taken by the Dutch to any French port." A similar tone was indulged in toward the other northern powers, excepting Russia; but the shrewd Catharine, perceiving the commercial interests of her realm to be involved in the maintenance of the neutral rights of others, after long coquetting with Great Britain, assumed the attitude of defender of those rights before all the world. Early in March, 1780, she issued a declaration, the substance of which was (1) That neutral ships shall enjoy free navigation from port to port, and on the coasts of belligerent powers; (2) That free ships free all goods except contraband; (3) That contraband are arms and ammunition of war, and nothing else; (4) That no port is blockaded unless the enemy's ships, in adequate number, are near enough to make the entry dangerous.

It was declared that those principles should rule decisions on the legality of prizes; and that state paper said: "In manifesting these principles before all Europe, Her Imperial Majesty is firmly resolved to maintain them. She has therefore given an order to fit out a considerable portion of her naval forces, to act as her honor, her interest, and necessity may require."

The empress invited Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, and the Netherlands to join in support of her declaration. These, with Russia, entered into the

league in the course of the year. France and Spain acquiesced in the new maritime code; and at one time a general war between Great Britain and the Continental powers seemed inevitable. The Congress approved the position of the empress, and toward the close of 1780, sent Thomas Dana as ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg to concede, on behalf of the United States, the principles of the coalition, and to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce. At that time similar negotiations had been proposed or entered upon by the United States with other European powers. John Jay had been sent to Spain for the purpose, early in the fall of 1779; and John Adams was appointed a diplomatic agent to form a treaty of peace and commerce with Great Britain. Meanwhile Gerard had been succeeded by the Chevalier de Luzerne, as French minister in the United States, and was invested with limited authority from Spain to negotiate with our government concerning territories and boundaries in America. A plan for a commercial treaty with Holland had been perfected, but at the time we are considering (the beginning of 1780) nothing definite had been done. The States-General had pursued a timid policy, fearing to offend Great Britain, and were silent on American affairs; but Van Berkel, the bold and enlightened head of the Amsterdam regency, had said in a letter to an American in 1778: "With the new republic, clearly raised up by the help of Providence, we desire a league of amity and commerce, which shall last to the end of time." He doubtless expressed the sentiments of the hearts of all intelligent Netherlanders at that time.

At the close of 1779, Lafayette had completed important services for the Americans, in France, by inducing the king to order a French army to America under the command of the Count de Rochambeau, to assist the republicans in their struggle. He had been received in France, on his return home early in the year, with intense enthusiasm, for his fame as a soldier here was universally known. His personal magnetism was wonderful. Whenever he appeared in the streets, crowds followed him. When his name was mentioned in the theatres, it was greeted with wildest applause. His persuasions at court were irresistible. Old Count Maurepas, who was at the head of the French ministry, said: "It is fortunate for the king that Lafayette did not take it into his head to strip Versailles of its furniture to send to his dear America, as his majesty would have been unable to refuse it."



CHAPTER LXXXI.

The Siege and Capture of Charleston by the British—Violations of Solemn Engagements—Sufferings of Leading Citizens—Boldness of Gadsden—Effects of the Fall of Charleston—Buford's Defeat—Andrew Jackson—Harsh Measures—De Kalb—Gates in Command—Exploits of Sumter and Marion, and other Partisans—Cornwallis in Chief Command—Lord Rawdon at Camden—Cornwallis Defeats Gates—Sumter's Men Dispersed—A Mistaken Policy—Doings in Western Carolinas—Defeat of the British at King's Mountain—Its Effects—Treatment of Tories—Partisan Warfare—Marion's Exploits and His Swamp Camp.

THE British ministry ordered the subjugation of South Carolina, and on the day after Christmas, 1779, Sir Henry Clinton sailed from New York on that errand, with five thousand troops borne by a fleet commanded by Admiral Arbuthnot. He left General Knyphausen in charge of the troops in New York. Encountering heavy storms off Cape Hatteras, the fleet was scattered. Many of the horses perished. A ship loaded with cannon went to the bottom of the sea; another, bearing Hessian troops, was driven across the Atlantic and dashed on the shore of England. It was late in February, 1780, before the scattered British forces (including those of Prevost at Savannah), ten thousand strong, appeared on John's Island in sight of Charleston, a wealthy city of fifteen thousand inhabitants, white and black, and spread over a broad peninsula between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, at their entrance into the sea. The city was then defended by less than two thousand effective men, under General Lincoln. The people of the State were disheartened by events in Georgia. Their western frontier was menaced by the savages, and there was much disaffection in the interior. Had Clinton marched directly upon Charleston when he landed on the islands, it would have been an easy prey; but he tarried a month in preparations and waiting for the arrival of more troops which he had ordered from New York. Meanwhile Lincoln had cast up fortifications across Charleston Neck; and Commodore Whipple, who was in command of a flotilla of small vessels near the bar, had fled into the harbor, sunk some of his craft to obstruct the channels, and transferred his guns and seamen to the fortifications. Fort Moultrie (Sullivan) was well garrisoned, but offered no resistance to the British fleet when it entered the harbor on

the 9th of April. The troops had appeared before the American works on the 29th of March, and on the 10th of April, Clinton and Arbuthnot demanded the surrender of the city. It was promptly refused by Lincoln, and a siege went on for a month afterward.

Lincoln soon discovered his peril, and on the 13th of April called a council of officers to consider the propriety of evacuating the town. Before a conclusion could be reached, that movement was impossible. Some detachments of cavalry sent out to keep open a communication between the town and country had been dispersed by British troopers, and Cornwallis had arrived from New York (April 19th) with almost three thousand fresh troops. All hopes for the Americans faded. Fort Moultrie was compelled to surrender to the British on the 6th of May; and on the 9th, a third summons was made for the surrender of the army and the city, and refused. The succeeding night was a terrible one for Charleston. Late in the evening a general cannonade began. The thunders of two hundred heavy guns shook the city all night long. Fiery bomb-shells were rained upon it; and at one time the flames of burning buildings shot up at five different points. Nor did the morning bring relief. The cannonade continued all the day. At two o'clock on the morning of the 11th, Lincoln made a proposition to Clinton for a surrender. The British fleet had moved near the town, to join in the work of destruction, and further resistance would have been madness. The terms of surrender were arranged. It was agreed that the Continental soldiers should march out with their colors cased, and to lay down their arms as prisoners of war; the militia to be dismissed on their parole to take no further part in the contest, and to be secure in person and property so long as they remained faithful to that parole. The citizens of suitable age were also paroled; and by this extraordinary measure, Clinton could boast of over five thousand prisoners of war.

The city was given up to pillage by the British and Hessian troops. When the whole amount of plunder was appraised for distribution, it aggregated, in value, a million and a half dollars, Clinton and his major-generals each receiving about twenty thousand dollars. Houses were rifled of plate and other valuables; confiscation of the estates of the Whigs was threatened, and afterward executed; and slaves, even those who had sought British protection, were seized and sent to the West Indies for sale to swell the money-gains of the conquerors. Over two thousand were sent at one embarkation. They were driven on board the ships in gangs of four or five, lashed together by ropes—men and women—without regard to the separation of families or the supplications of parting kindred. Only upon the promise of unconditional loyalty was British protection offered to any

citizen ; and in gross violation of the terms of the capitulation, a large number of the leading men of Charleston were taken from their beds, in August, by armed men, and carried on board prison-ships, under the false accusation that they were concerned in a conspiracy to burn the town and murder the loyal inhabitants. In these ships hundreds suffered terribly. Among the more prominent citizens thus treated were Lieutenant-Governor Gadsden



SLAVES SENT TO THE WEST INDIES.

and David Ramsay, the historian, who were sent to St. Augustine, where Governor Tryon, the North Carolina "Wolf," was in command. Tryon offered them their liberty on parole. Gadsden, the sturdy patriot, refused. He would make no further terms with men who had broken solemn pledges. "Had the British commander," he said, "regarded the terms of capitulation at Charleston, I might now, although a prisoner, enjoy the smiles and consolations of my family under my own roof; but even without a shadow of accusation preferred against me, for any act inconsistent with my plighted faith, I am torn from them, and here, in a distant land, invited to enter into new engagements. I will give no parole." "Think better of it," said Tryon; "a second refusal of it will fix your destiny—a dungeon will be your future habitation." "Prepare it, then," replied the inflexible patriot. "I will give no parole, so help me God!" And the petty tyrant *did* prepare it. For forty-two weeks that brave man, almost three-score years of age, never saw the light of the blessed sun, but lay incarcerated in the castle at St. Augustine. And when he, and other prisoners, were exchanged the next

year, they were not allowed to enter Charleston, but were sent to Philadelphia, whither their families had been exiled.

The fall of Charleston and the loss of the Southern army were severe blows to the republicans. It paralyzed their strength; and, for awhile, South Carolina lay helpless at the feet of the oppressor. With an activity unusual for British officers in America, Clinton took immediate steps to extend and secure his conquests, and to re-establish royal authority in the South. With a mistaken policy he used harshness instead of conciliation toward the smitten and humbled inhabitants. He sent out three strong detachments to overrun the country and awe the people by a display of power. One of these, under Lord Cornwallis, marched up the course of the Santee River, to Camden; another, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger, was ordered to penetrate the country to Ninety-Six; and a third, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, went up from Savannah to Augusta.

Meanwhile Colonel Abraham Buford, with four hundred Continental infantry, a small number of cavalry and two cannon, who had hastened toward Charleston to help Lincoln, had been dreadfully smitten by Tarleton. Buford had retreated from Camden toward Charlotte, in North Carolina, on the approach of Cornwallis. Tarleton, with seven hundred cavalry and mounted infantry, was sent in pursuit. By a forced march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-five hours, he overtook Buford, on the Waxhaw (May 29th, 1780), and almost surrounded him before the republican leader was aware of his approach. Tarleton demanded his instant surrender upon the terms granted at Charleston. Buford refused compliance. While flags for conference were passing and re-passing, Tarleton, contrary to military rules, made preparations for assault when that conference should end. The instant he received Buford's reply, his cavalry made a furious charge upon the unprepared and astonished Americans. All was confusion. Some resisted; others threw down their arms and begged for quarter. None was given, and men without arms were hewn in pieces by the British cavalry. One hundred and thirteen were slain; one hundred and fifty were so maimed as to be unable to travel; and fifty-three were made prisoners, and graced Tarleton's triumphal march into Camden. The spoils of victory were Buford's artillery, ammunition and baggage. Cornwallis eulogized this savage act of Tarleton; Stedman, one of Cornwallis's officers, and a historian of the war, wrote: "On the occasion, the virtue of humanity was totally forgot." Tarleton received the special favor of Lord George Germain, for the cold-blooded massacre; and "Tarleton's quarter," became the synonym for cruelty. It was the war-cry for vengeance of the patriots in the field afterward. Among the witnesses of that massacre was Andrew Jackson,

then a lad thirteen years of age. The event fired his patriotism, and he and his brother Robert entered the military service under Sumter. They were made prisoners, and while in captivity the spirit of the future military hero and headstrong President of the United States was displayed. A British officer ordered Andrew to clean his muddy boots. The boy refused to do this menial service for an enemy of his country, and received from the officer a sword-cut, the scar of which he bore to the grave sixty-five years afterward.



MASSACRE OF BUFORD'S COMMAND.

This massacre spread terror throughout the interior of South Carolina. Families fled from their homes in the pathway of the invaders, until there was no place of refuge for them. The exasperated patriots were ready to fight, but there was no military organization. Taking advantage of their helplessness, the conqueror now attempted to crush out all independence in the State by requiring every able-bodied man to join the British army, and take an active part in the re-establishment of royal rule, and threatening all who should refuse compliance with treatment as "rebels to the government of the king." The silence of fear and weakness overspread the State. Mistaking this lull in the storm, and the numerous applications for protection, for permanent tranquillity, Clinton and Arbuthnot, with a large body of troops, returned to New York. On the eve of his departure, Clinton wrote

to Germain: "The inhabitants from every quarter declare their allegiance to the king, and offer their services in arms. There are few men in South Carolina who are not either our prisoners or in arms with us."

The lull in the tempest of war was brief. To aid the Southern patriots, Washington had sent the Baron De Kalb, with Maryland and Delaware troops, to help Lincoln at Charleston. He was a brave but slow moving French officer, about sixty years of age, who accompanied Lafayette to this country, and was commissioned a major-general by the Congress, in September, 1777. He was yet in Virginia, whose leading men were making noble sacrifices to strengthen him, when he heard of the surrender of Charleston, and it was late in June when he entered North Carolina. By the capture of Lincoln, De Kalb became commander-in-chief of the army in the South, a position which he was not competent to fill with efficiency. Washington desired to have General Greene succeed Lincoln, but the Congress, yielding to the importunities of the friends of Gates, procured his appointment to that difficult position. That body gave the favorite orders to act independently, and to report directly to them. He was gratified by the trust reposed in him, and joined De Kalb on the 25th of July. The prospect before him was far from flattering. An army without strength; a military chest without money; an inefficient commissary department; a climate unfavorable to health; the spirit of the republicans cast down; loyalists and timid patriots swarming in every direction, and a victorious enemy pressing on to spread his legions over the territory Gates had come to defend, were the grave obstacles to success before him. But the approach of the "conqueror of Burgoyne," who was yet surrounded by the glory of that event, inspirited the republicans of the South. Sumter, Marion, Pickens and Clarke, brave and skillful, true and persistent partisan leaders in Carolina and Georgia, summoned their fellow-patriots to the field. Seeing how lightly the invaders regarded their solemn pledges, the republicans, renouncing their "paroles" and "protections," flocked to the standards of these brave partisans, and prepared the way for Gates. They swept over the country with celerity, in small bands, striking British detachments here or a company of Tories there, such unexpected, sharp, quick and decisive blows that the enemy, alarmed and perplexed, was checked in their invading march into the interior.

General Thomas Sumter now first appeared in power on the borders of the Catawba River. The Whigs, following local leaders, had already assailed the enemy at different points between the Catawba and Broad rivers. Sumter, meanwhile, had gathered a considerable force, and on the 30th of July (1780) he attacked a British post at Rocky Mount, on the right bank

of the Catawba, where he was repulsed but not disheartened. He crossed the river and fell upon another British post under Major Carden at Hanging Rock, a few miles eastward, on the 6th of August. A large body of British and Tories were there. They were at first dispersed; but Sumter's men, seeking plunder, and drinking the liquors found in the camp after they had secured it, lost the victory through separation and intoxication. The ranks of the patriots became disordered. The enemy rallied, and a very severe contest ensued. The British were reinforced, and Sumter was compelled to retreat. But he had handled his enemy so severely, that he did not attempt to follow. In the meantime Colonel Francis Marion (soon afterward a brigadier-general), a soldier of the French and Indian war, a hero at Fort Sullivan in 1776, a brave combatant at Savannah in 1779, and an active partisan leader in his native State (South Carolina) afterward, was smiting the enemy with sudden and fierce blows among the swamps in the low country, on the borders of the Pedee. So brave and wily were these partisans, that the British called Sumter "The Carolina Game-Cock," and Marion "The Swamp Fox." The latter was one of the most noted and beloved of the partisan leaders in that struggle, and was more feared by the British and Tories in the South than any other, for they never knew where he was until they felt his blows. He was

"A moment in the British camp—
A moment—and away
Back to the pathless forest,
Before the break of day."

At the same time Colonel Andrew Pickens was annoying Cruger in the neighborhood of Ninety-Six and the waters of the Saluda, and Colonel Elijah Clarke was calling for the patriots of the country along the Savannah, Ogeechee, and Alatamaha, to drive Brown from Augusta.

On the morning of the 27th of July, General Gates, after sending Marion toward the interior of South Carolina, put his "grand army," as he called his forces, in motion, by the shortest route toward Camden. He was speedily joined by Colonel Porterfield with Virginians, and by North Carolinians under Colonel Caswell in the east, and Rutherford in the west. The British officers were perplexed. Clinton had left Cornwallis in chief command in the south, and the latter had entrusted the leadership of his troops on the Santee to Lord Rawdon, an active and meritorious officer. With these gathering legions in the north and the active Sumter and Marion on their flanks, the British were certainly in a perilous position. Major McArthur, who was on the Cheraw Hills to encourage the Loyalists, called in his

detachments, and with his whole force hastened to join Rawdon at Camden. Cornwallis, perceiving the gathering storm on the borders of South Carolina, hastened to Camden to join Rawdon, and reached that village on the same day (August 14) when Gates advanced and took post at Clermont. There the latter was joined by seven hundred Virginia militia under General Stevens; and he felt so sure of victory, that he did not prepare for a retreat by appointing a place of rendezvous. It was a fatal blunder. On the same day Gates weakened his army by sending to Sumter a detachment to assist in intercepting a convoy of supplies on their way from Ninety-Six, to Rawdon; and on the evening of the 15th he marched to attack the latter with a little more than three thousand men. He would listen to no advice from his officers, but began his march, confidently, before a proper disposition of his baggage in the rear had been made. Cornwallis had left Camden to meet Gates, at about the same time. The road was very sandy, and foot-falls could not be easily heard. The vanguards of the belligerents met, between two and three o'clock in the morning, on a gentle slope a little north of Sanders's Creek, that runs through a swamp, nearly eight miles from Camden. It was a mutual surprise, for neither party knew that the other had struck his tents. Both began firing at the same time. Some of Colonel Armand's troops, who led the van, were killed, and the remainder fell back in disorder upon the first Maryland brigade, and broke its line. The whole army were filled with consternation, and would have fled but for the wisdom and skill of Porterfield, who, in rallying them, was mortally wounded. Both armies halted, when it was perceived that the British had the advantage, having crossed the small creek, and being protected by an impenetrable swamp on their flanks and rear.

Both parties anxiously awaited the dawn, and prepared for battle. The right of the British line was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Webster, and the left by Lord Rawdon. De Kalb commanded the American right, and General Stevens the left, and the centre was composed of North Carolinians under Colonel Caswell. A second line was formed by the first Maryland brigade led by General Smallwood.

The battle was opened by American artillery. The war of cannon was followed by an advance to the attack by some volunteers under Colonel Otho H. Williams and Stevens's militia. The latter had been given bayonets only the day before, and were now ordered to rely upon them chiefly. They did not know how to use them. The veteran British troops, led by Webster, fell upon these raw recruits, when the latter threw down their muskets and fled to the woods for shelter. Then Webster attacked the Maryland Continentals, who fought gallantly until they were outflanked, when they, also,

gave way. Twice they were rallied, but finally retreated, when the brunt of the battle fell upon the Maryland and Delaware troops, led by DeKalb, assisted by General Gist, Colonel Howard, and Captain Kirkwood. They fought desperately and were almost in possession of victory, when Cornwallis sent against them some fresh dragoons and infantry that turned the tide. De Kalb was so badly wounded that he died three days afterward.

Gates's whole army was utterly routed and dispersed, and he was the most expert of the fugitives in running away. He abandoned his army, and with Caswell fled to Clermont in advance of any of his flying troops. Thence he hastened to Charlotte where he left Caswell, and then hurried on to Hillsborough. In this ignoble flight, he rode about two hundred miles in three days and a half. He had lost about a thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; the British loss was less than five hundred. In the meantime, Sumter had been successful in capturing the convoy alluded to, with about forty wagons and their contents. He was now at the head of the largest body of republican troops in South Carolina. On hearing of Gates's defeat, he marched up the Wateree to the mouth of the Fishing Creek and encamped; and there at mid-day, on the 18th of August (1780), he was surprised by some of Tarleton's cavalry. About three hundred and fifty of his men were killed or made prisoners, and the British captives and wagons were retaken. Sumter escaped in such haste that he rode into Charlotte without hat or saddle.

The defeat of Sumter's band made the victory of Cornwallis complete. The hopes of the patriots were almost extinguished. Within the space of three months, two republican armies had been almost annihilated by capture or dispersion; and the earl, regarding the full and final subjugation of South Carolina as accomplished, moved toward the North State accompanied by Martin, a former royal governor of North Carolina, who assured him that the people there would rise to welcome him. Had Cornwallis been guided by good judgment and humanity, the conquest of South Carolina, and the restoration of North Carolina to a loyal condition, might have been permanent; for the former State swarmed with Tories, and the republicans were weary of the unequal contest. But following the wicked suggestions of Martin and the sanguinary Tarleton, and animated by the cruel instructions from Germain, he proposed to establish a system of revolting terrorism. He put military despotism in place of civil law, and treated the people as slaves having no rights which he was bound to respect. He ordered all militia-men who had served in Loyalist corps and were afterward found in arms against the king, to be hanged without mercy. He gave full license to Tories to execute these orders. Private rights were everywhere trampled

under-foot. Property was wantonly destroyed by fire and violence; the chastity of women was set at naught; plunder was universal; and Whigs, both men and women, cultivated and tenderly reared, were hunted by the ravenous Tory wolves as legitimate prey to their worst passions. These ruthless measures created the most intense hatred. The people revolted and thirsted for vengeance. They only awaited the appearance of good leaders, to fly to arms and rid the country of their oppressors. Only Marion was then in the field, untrammelled by any parole. Governor Rutledge had commissioned him a brigadier, and with his famous brigade of ragged followers, he performed those deeds for the redemption of South Carolina which have made his name immortal.

The first symptoms of that revolt were seen in Western Carolina. Cornwallis had marched his army to Charlotte, in North Carolina, early in September, and from that point he sent out detachments to execute his cruel orders. While Tarleton and his legions were operating eastward of the Catawba, Major Patrick Ferguson was sent to embody the Tories among the mountains west of the Broad River. Many profligate and unworthy men joined his standard, and at the beginning of October he was encamped among the gravelly, wooded hills of King's Mountain, about two miles south of the North Carolina border. Meanwhile the patriots west of the Alleghany ranges had taken up arms to frustrate the plans of Cornwallis. They were embodied in regiments under Colonels Shelby, Sevier, Campbell, Cleaveland, McDowell and Williams, and were chiefly Virginians and North Carolinians. On the evening of the 6th of October (1780) they were all assembled at the "Cowpens," in Spartanburg district, and called themselves "The Western Army." There they heard that Ferguson was at King's Mountain, and they determined to proceed that night and strike him by surprise. Nine hundred of their best horsemen (they were all mounted) marched by moonlight, and on the afternoon of the next day, they came near Ferguson's camp of a little over eleven hundred men (mostly Tories), who were resting in fancied security on account of their peculiar position.

The republicans dismounted, and, forming themselves into four columns, advanced to within a quarter of a mile of Ferguson's camp, without being discovered. The regiments of Shelby and Campbell, which formed the right and left centres of the force, pushed up the hill and made the first attack. The aroused British flew to arms, and the bayonets of the few regulars overmatched the rifles of the assailants for a moment. For ten minutes the advanced regiments sustained a fierce contest for the crown of the hill, when the right and left wings of the republican army fell upon Ferguson's left and rear and drove him into a hollow, where he was slain on the border of a clear

mountain brook. The position of his force was now untenable, and Captain De Peyster (of the "King's American Regiment"), Ferguson's senior surviving officer, hoisted a flag of submission. The firing ceased, and the invaders surrendered, with fifteen hundred stand of arms. The entire loss of the British was eleven hundred and five, of whom four hundred and fifty-six were either killed or wounded. The Americans lost twenty-eight killed and sixty wounded. Among the British prisoners were many of the worst Tories, who had most cruelly executed the severe orders of Cornwallis. Ten of these, after a brief trial the next morning, were hanged together upon an outstretching limb of a tulip tree, which, when I visited the spot in 1849, was huge, and overshadowed a small monument erected on the spot where Ferguson was slain. That stone was set up in commemoration of Major Chronicle and three other Americans who were killed in the battle. Upon it were their names, and on the opposite side were these words: "Colonel Patrick Ferguson, an officer belonging to his Britannic Majesty, was here defeated and killed."

This annihilation of Ferguson's corps crushed the spirits of the loyalists, destroyed the hopes of Cornwallis of aid from those of South Carolina, and weakened, beyond recovery, the royal power in the South. King's Mountain was to Cornwallis what Bennington was to Burgoyne. When the earl heard of the disaster, he retreated from North Carolina and took position at Winnsboro' in Fairfield district, between the Broad and Catawba rivers—a station between Ninety-Six and Camden. The loyalists of North Carolina were repulsed, and the Whigs, everywhere, were strengthened. There was a general revolt against Cornwallis, who had expected to subdue the whole region south of the Susquehanna by easy conquests. In his retreat he was greatly annoyed by the uprising of republicans, who hung on his rear; and his whole army suffered much from exposure in almost incessant rains, and for want of food for man and forage for horses, during the retrograde march of fifteen days.

Nearer the seaboard the patriots were gaining strength. Marion and his men were striking the banding Tories, and annoying British outposts continually; while Colonels Pickens and Clarke were hourly increasing their forces in Georgia and southwestern Carolina. Sumter, too, undismayed by his recent defeat, had rallied the patriots above Camden; and men were in the field here and there between the Yadkin and the Catawba, ready to swell the ranks of any good leader, or strike a British foraging party. Sumter's men were all mounted, and cut off many supplies for Cornwallis's army at Winnsboro'. The earl sent Major Wemyss, with some mounted infantry, after him. These fell upon Sumter's camp at Fish Dam Ford

on the Broad River, on the night of the 11th of November, but were repulsed. Wemyss was made prisoner, and on his person were found memoranda that revealed his cruelty toward the inhabitants. Cornwallis, on hearing of his defeat, recalled Tarleton from the pursuit of Marion in the lower country, and sent him after Sumter, who, with reinforcements, was pushing on to the British post of Ninety-Six. Tarleton overtook the partisan at Blackstock's plantation on the banks of the Tyger River, in Union district, and attacked him there on the night of the 20th of November. The assailants were repulsed, with heavy loss, leaving their wounded in the hands of Sumter. The latter was disabled by a severe wound, but his loss in men was inconsiderable.

Meanwhile Marion had won victory after victory in forays against British and Tories in the vicinity of the Pedee and Santee rivers. Cornwallis had



A HOMELESS FAMILY.

sent Tarleton, with his legion, to catch the "Swamp Fox." That officer and his men marked their track with desolation and woe. It might have been traced by burning dwellings, and groups of homeless women and children. On the banks of the Santee he beat the widow of a republican officer because she would not tell him where Marion was encamped. He robbed her of all her clothing excepting what she had on; burned her house and devastated her plantation. While pursuing this wicked career, he was recalled to go in pursuit of Sumter. Now Marion attempted a bolder stroke, by assailing the British post at Georgetown, on Winyaw Bay, to procure needed supplies for his men. He was beaten in a skirmish near the town, and retired to Snow's Island at the confluence of the Pedee and Lynch's

Creek, which was a high river swamp, dry, and covered with a heavy forest filled with game. At that skirmish, Marion's nephew was murdered after he had surrendered. From that time the battle cry of Marion's men was "No quarter for Tories!"

On Snow's Island, surrounded by vast swamps, Marion had a secure retreat. To his camp, there, a young British officer was sent to treat concerning prisoners. He was led,

blindfolded, to the camp, where he saw in the person of the famous partisan leader, a diminutive man, with large, sunken, lustrous eyes, and very coarsely clad, surrounded by rough-looking men with tattered garments. When the business of his mission was closed, Marion invited him to dine at his table. The invitation was accepted. Some roasted sweet potatoes were brought into the tent on a piece of bark, of which the general partook freely, and invited his guest to do the same. "Surely, general," said the astonished Briton, "this cannot be your ordinary fare." "Indeed it is," Marion replied; "and it is a fortunate circumstance that, on this occasion, entertaining company, we have more than our usual allowance." The young officer threw up his commission



MARION AND THE BRITISH OFFICER.

on returning to his commander, saying, "Such a people cannot, and ought not to be subdued."



From the original painting by H. A. Ogden

BURNSIDE AT THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG, DECEMBER 13, 1862



CHAPTER LXXXII.

Position of the Belligerent Armies—Mrs. Washington at Headquarters—Hamilton and Miss Schuyler—British Invasion of New Jersey—Murder of Mrs. Caldwell—Arrival of French Forces—Treason of Arnold—His Character—Progress of His Treason—Interview between Arnold and André—Capture of Andre—Arnold's Escape—Discovery of the Treason—Execution of André—The Fate of Arnold and André Considered—The Captors of André Rewarded—The British Government and Holland—The American Cause in Peril—A Stronger Government Looked for—Hamilton's Project—Reforms in the Army.

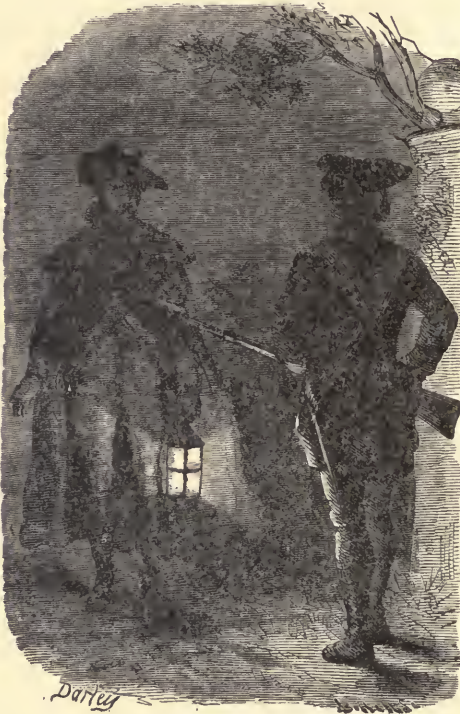
WHILE stirring events were taking place in the South, important ones were occurring in the North, where military operations had almost ceased because the theatre of war had been transferred to the Carolinas and Georgia. Washington had his headquarters at Morristown, at a house yet standing there, and his main army were encamped within call.

The winter of 1779-80 was very severe. The salt waters that surround New York city were so bridged with solid ice that the British took heavy cannons across from that town to Staten Island. The Continental Army, as we have observed, were encamped chiefly in New Jersey, and the British occupied the city of New York. The snow lay so deep on the ground that both armies were compelled to remain quiet several weeks. When the spring opened, the troops under the direct command of Washington numbered less than four thousand effective men; and between the Chesapeake and the northern and eastern frontiers of the Union, there were not more than seven thousand Continental soldiers.

The troops at and near Morristown suffered much from hunger and cold, at times. Mrs. Washington passed that winter there, with her husband. Sentinels and Life-Guardsmen were continually on duty to defend headquarters from sudden and secret attack. Sometimes, when alarms were quite frequent, guards were placed in Mrs. Washington's sleeping apartment. When an alarm occurred, they threw open the windows to give full play to their muskets. On one of these occasions, on a bitter cold night, the windows were kept open more than an hour, exposing Mrs. Washington to the intense cold, with no other defence against it than the ordinary bed-

clothing and the thick curtains drawn. General Schuyler also passed a greater portion of the winter and spring at Morristown, in consultation with Washington about the future. His quarters were near those of the commander-in-chief, and his family were with him. His daughter Elizabeth was then betrothed to Colonel Alexander Hamilton, of Washington's staff, and the young couple were together almost every evening. On one of these occasions, when Hamilton was returning to his quarters, he had forgotten the countersign. The charms of Miss Schuyler seem to have obliterated the

word from his memory. He came to the sentinel, who knew him well, but the faithful soldier would not let him pass without giving the word. The colonel was greatly embarrassed. A son of Mr. Ford, a lad fourteen years of age, at whose father's house Washington had his quarters, was entrusted with the countersign for the day, whenever he wished to go to the village and return in the evening. He had just passed the sentinel, when, hearing the voice of Colonel Hamilton, he stopped and waited for him to come up. Hamilton discovered the boy, by the light of the stars, and called out, "Aye, Master Ford, is that you?" Then stepping aside, he called the boy to him, and drawing young Ford's ear to his lips, he whispered, "Give me the countersign." He did so, and



HAMILTON AND THE SENTINEL AT MORRISTOWN.

the colonel presented himself in front of the sentinel and gave the word. The soldier kept his bayonet at a present. "I have given you the word, why do you not shoulder your musket?" Hamilton asked. The sentinel, suspecting the colonel was trying his fidelity, said, "Will that do, colonel?" "It will for this time," Hamilton replied; "let me pass." The soldier reluctantly obeyed the illegal command. Colonel Hamilton and his betrothed were married in December following.

The news of the surrender of Charleston reached New York at near the close of May. This intelligence, and the assurance of Tories from New Jersey that the people there were wearied with the struggle and were disposed to submit, seemed to present a favorable opportunity for making a raid into that State by British troops, and setting up the royal standard there. At the beginning of June, General Maxwell, with his New Jersey brigade, was at Connecticut Farms (now the village of Union), a hamlet a few miles from Elizabethtown; and three hundred New Jersey militia under Colonel Dayton occupied the latter place. Against these, Knyphausen sent General Mathews, with about five thousand troops, on the 6th of June. They passed over from Staten Island to Elizabethtown Point, and the next day took possession of Elizabethtown. The militia there retired before the superior force, when the invaders pressed on to Connecticut Farms, greatly annoyed on their way by the rising militia who hung upon their flanks. At the Farms the British murdered the wife of the Rev. James Caldwell, a very active patriot, who was then in Washington's army. Mrs. Caldwell did not fly, with her neighbors, on the approach of the enemy, but remained, trusting in Providence for protection. When the invaders entered the hamlet, she retired to an inner room with her children, one of them a suckling. A British soldier came through a yard to an open window of the room, and shot her as she sat on the edge of the bed. Two bullets pierced her, and she fell dead to the floor, with her infant in her arms. The babe was unhurt. The nurse snatched it up and ran out of the house, which was on fire. The church and every building of the hamlet became a victim to the flames. There was barely time to drag the body of Mrs. Caldwell out of the burning building into the street, where it lay exposed several hours, until permission was given to her friends to bury the remains.

As the invaders pushed on toward Springfield, they were met by Maxwell's troops, and after a brief skirmish, and hearing that forces were coming down from Morristown, they retreated to the coast, where they remained about a fortnight. Meanwhile Clinton had arrived from Charleston. He sent reinforcements to Mathews, and after making a feint upon the Hudson Highlands, he and Knyphausen crossed over and joined the troops at Elizabethtown Point. The feint deceived Washington, who left the command of a considerable force of Continental troops at the Short Hills, between Springfield and Morristown, with General Greene, while he moved with another force in the direction of the Hudson. Early in the morning of the 23d of June (1780), the British advanced toward Springfield, and Greene moved forward to meet them, in battle array. The invaders approached in two columns. Greene was advantageously posted. The British force, about

five thousand strong, with cavalry and almost twenty cannon, seemed sufficient to crush any republican army that might oppose them; but after a very severe skirmish, the invaders were defeated. Setting fire to Springfield, they retreated to the shore, and crossed over in haste from Elizabethtown Point to Staten Island, on a bridge of boats. Clinton had lost a rare opportunity for the conquest of New Jersey, and possibly the destruction or dispersion of Washington's army.

Good news for the Americans now came from the east. The strong recommendations from D'Estaing on his return to France, joined with the persuasions of Lafayette, had induced the French government to send an army to America, under the Count de Rochambeau, who was instructed to act under the orders of Washington at all times, after his arrival. The troops were borne over the Atlantic in a fleet commanded by Admiral de Ternay, and arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, on the 10th of July. The General Assembly of the State were then in session, and received the strangers cordially. The news of their arrival was greeted with joy everywhere in the Union; and Washington sent a letter of welcome to Rochambeau, by the hand of Lafayette, who was instructed to concert measures with the French general for the future operations of the allied armies. In compliment to the strangers and as a symbol of the alliance with them, Washington requested his officers to wear on their chapeaus white and black cockades.

When news of the arrival of the French at Newport reached New York, Clinton ordered the British fleet there to bear an army to Rhode Island to attack the newly arrived enemy. He detached about eight thousand men for that service. The militia of New England flew to arms, and the French longed for the British to come; but the expedition did not go out of Long Island Sound, and soon returned to New York. Clinton now attempted, by the aid of treason, to accomplish what he had failed to do by honorable warfare. The man who played the part of a traitor to the American cause on that occasion was General Benedict Arnold, a brave soldier, but a bad man. He was ambitious of personal renown, impulsive, rapacious, unscrupulous, and vindictive; personally very unpopular, and seldom without a quarrel with some of his fellow-officers. The sad story of his treason has been so often told in detail, that we need to give it in general outline only.

Soon after the appointment to the military governorship of Philadelphia, in 1778, he married the beautiful daughter of Edward Shippen, a leading loyalist of that city. He lived in a style which caused expenditure beyond his income, and to meet the demands of importunate creditors, he engaged in fraudulent and dishonorable official acts which caused the public to detest

him. Finally serious charges of dishonesty were preferred against him before the Continental Congress; and a court-martial ordered by that body to try him, found him guilty. In their sentence they treated him most leniently. It was a simple reprimand by the commander-in-chief. That duty was performed by Washington in the most delicate manner; but the disgrace awakened vengeful feelings in the bosom of Arnold. These, operating with the pressure of debt, made him listen to the suggestions of a bad nature; and he let Sir Henry Clinton know that he preferred service in the British army to that in which he was engaged. Correspondence upon the subject, which was continued several months, was conducted on the part of Sir Henry, through the accomplished Major John André, his adjutant-general, under an assumed name. So, also, did Arnold assume a fictitious name; and on the part of both, the correspondence was carried on in commercial phraseology. Arnold agreed to ask for the command of the strong post of West Point and its dependencies, in the Hudson Highlands, and, if obtained, to betray it into the hands of Clinton. For this service Arnold was to receive the commission of brigadier in the British army, and fifty thousand dollars in gold. It is asserted by Mr. Bancroft, that "in the course



BENEDICT ARNOLD.

of the winter of 1778-1779, he was taken into the pay of Clinton, to whom he gave on every occasion most material intelligence."

The nefarious plot had been made known to the British minister, and he and Clinton believed that its consummation would end the war. In the spring of 1780, Arnold took measures to secure for himself the command of West Point. He enlisted the sympathies and services in his behalf of General Schuyler, Robert R. Livingston and other leading patriots of New York, pretending that his wounds would not permit him to do active service in the field, and that he was very anxious to serve his country. His pro-

fessions of patriotism were so vehement that he deceived those men, and they united in recommending Washington to give him the important position. The latter had lost faith in Arnold's integrity, but could not believe him capable of treason to the cause. He finally yielded to the request of others more than to the dictates of his better judgment, and in August (1780) he placed Arnold in command of the Highland forts, with his headquarters at the house of Beverly Robinson (yet standing), opposite West Point. Then Arnold bent all his energies for the consummation of his treason, first requiring a personal interview with André, to make a definite arrangement about the terms of the bargain.

It was late in September before that personal interview was held. Washington, accompanied by Lafayette and Hamilton, crossed the Hudson at Verplanck's Point (where he was joined by Arnold), on his way to Hartford, to have his first personal conference with Rochambeau there. That was on the 18th. Arnold ascertained the time when they might be expected at West Point, on their return, and he resolved to bring the plot to a point ready for the final act before then. He immediately informed Clinton of the situation, and desired him to send André up the river to the *Vulture* sloop-of-war, then lying just above Teller's (now Croton) Point, to which a boat with a flag would be sent to convey the major to a selected place of meeting, between midnight and dawn. Clinton embarked troops on the Hudson, with a pretext that they were bound for the Chesapeake. These he intended to lead in person against the Highland forts.

On the morning of the 20th André departed from Dobb's Ferry for the *Vulture*; but it was the second night after his arrival, when the flag appeared, borne by Joshua H. Smith, a resident near Haverstraw. André had been instructed by Clinton not to change his dress and not to take any papers with him; so, with his regimentals, covered with a long surtout, he went ashore, and met Arnold in bushes at the foot of Torn Mountain, near Haverstraw, by the light of a waning moon. Dawn was approaching before the interview was ended; and the conspirators mounted horses which Arnold had provided, and rode to the house of Smith before the break of day. At sunrise, cannons were heard upon the river, and the *Vulture* was seen to fall down the stream, out of sight, to avoid the effects of artillery trained upon her at Teller's Point. This gave André uneasiness, for he would be compelled to return to New York by land.

The conference at Smith's house lasted several hours. It was agreed that Arnold should so distribute the garrison at West Point as to weaken it. When it should be known that the British troops were ascending the river, Arnold was to apply to Washington at Tappan for reinforcements; and after

making a show of resistance, he was to surrender the post in time for Clinton to fall upon the approaching troops which might be led by the commander-in-chief in person. So, at one blow, Washington's army was to be ruined, and the important post to be seized by the enemy.

André received from Arnold a written statement of the condition of the Highland forts, and a pass for "John Anderson" (his assumed name) "to the White Plains and beyond." With the latter in his pocket and the former under his feet, in his boots, the young officer, having exchanged his scarlet uniform for a coat that belonged to Mr. Smith, buttoned his surtout up to his chin, crossed the river at the King's Ferry, and on horseback made his way toward New York on the east side of the Hudson. So far the plot had worked well. Knowledge of the conspiracy was yet locked in the bosom of a single American—the traitor himself. But difficulties soon arose. When the major had reached the vicinity of Tarrytown, sixteen miles from the strong British post at King's Bridge, and was riding in fancied security up the gentle hill from Sleepy Hollow, he was suddenly confronted by three young militiamen—John Paulding, Isaac Van Wart, and David Williams—who belonged to a party of seven who were out to prevent cattle being driven from the vicinity to the British lines, and to arrest any suspicious characters on the highway. These young men were playing cards in the shadow of a wood by the road-side, when André appeared. Paulding, followed by his companions, stepped into the road, and presenting his bayonet ordered the well-dressed "gentlemanly traveler" to stop. André, supposing them to be Loyalists, said: "Gentlemen, I hope you belong to our party." "Which party?" asked Paulding. "The Lower party." Paulding answered misleadingly, "We do," when André said, "Gentlemen, I am a British officer, out in the country on particular business, and hope you will not detain me a minute." He then showed them his watch in token of his being an officer, when Paulding ordered him to dismount. Perceiving his mistake, André said: "My God! I must do any thing to get along," and then showed them Arnold's pass. "Gentlemen," he said, "you had best let me go, or you will bring yourselves into trouble, for your stopping me will detain the general's business." He told them he was going to Dobbs' Ferry to meet a person there from whom he expected important intelligence for Arnold. Paulding courteously said: "I hope you'll not be offended; we do not intend to take any thing from you; there are many bad people on the road, and you, perhaps, are one of them. Have you any letters?" He answered, "No." Then they took him into the bushes, and searched him. André was dressed in a blue surtout, a claret-colored body-coat trimmed with lace; nankeen waistcoat and breeches; flannel underclothes, round

hat, and thread stockings, and boots. They stripped him to his shirt, but found no papers on him; and they were about to let him go, when it was suggested that something might be concealed in his boots. He reluctantly obeyed an order to pull them off, when the papers alluded to were found between his stockings and his feet. "This is a spy!" exclaimed Paulding. André offered them large bribes to release him. "Not for ten thousand



CAPTURE OF MAJOR ANDRE.

guineas," said Paulding; and the three young men conducted their prisoner to Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, who was in command of the nearest military post, at North Castle. Jameson, with amazing stupidity, resolved to send the prisoner to Arnold. Major Tallmadge, next in rank, suspecting the general of treachery, warmly remonstrated, when Jameson consented to confine the captive until he should receive orders from Washington or Arnold. He insisted upon writing a letter to Arnold informing him of the arrest of the prisoner. This was a fatal blunder, and led to great mischief.

That night the prisoner wrote a letter to Washington, frankly announcing

his name and rank, and giving a truthful account of the whole affair. He gave the letter to Tallmadge to read, who was astonished to find that the captive was Major André, adjutant-general of the British army. He was finally taken to the headquarters of the army at Tappan.

While these events were occurring, Washington was on his way from Hartford. On the morning of the 25th (September, 1780), he and his attendants left Fishkill before the dawn, and rode on with speed toward the Robinson house to breakfast with General and Mrs. Arnold. When near there, the chief turned down a lane to view a battery on the brink of the river, and told his young companions to go forward and he would soon join them. While they were at the table with the general, a messenger brought a letter to him from Jameson; but instead of announcing, as he expected it would, that a British armament was ascending the river, it told him of the arrest of Major André. His presence of mind did not forsake him. He told his guests that business of importance demanded his presence at West Point immediately. He ascended to his wife's chamber and sent for her. There, in brief and hurried words, he told her that they must instantly part, perhaps forever, for his life depended upon his reaching the British lines as quickly as possible. Horror-stricken, the poor young creature, one year a mother but not two a bride, swooned and sank senseless upon the floor. Arnold dared not call for help, but kissing with lips blasted by words of guilt and treason, his boy then sweetly sleeping, he rushed from the room, mounted a horse belonging to one of his guests, and hastened to the river along a by-way yet known as *Arnold's Path*. Then he entered his barge, and directed his six oarsmen to push out into the middle of the river and pull for Teller's Point. They were ignorant of his errand, and having their muscles stimulated by a promise of two gallons of rum, they rowed the little vessel swiftly down the stream to the *Vulture*. Having made himself known to the commander, Arnold rewarded his faithful men with the fate of prisoners instead of the promised beverage. Clinton, despising the traitor's meanness, set them at liberty when the *Vulture* arrived at New York.

Washington arrived at Robinson's house just after Arnold had left. No one there, excepting Mrs. Arnold in her chamber, knew of the traitor's flight. Supposing he had gone over to West Point, the chief crossed the river, and did not return until near noon. He was met near the landing-place by Hamilton, into whose hand a messenger from Jameson had placed the proof of Arnold's guilt—the papers taken from André's boots, and the major's letter to Washington. Efforts were immediately made to overtake the traitor, but he had four hours the start, and escaped, as we have observed. The fugitive's wife was crazed by the shock for several hours, and

her condition excited the warmest sympathy of the chief and his attendants. She pressed her infant to her bosom and lamented his fate because of the conduct of his father. "All the sweetness of beauty, all the loveliness of innocence, all the tenderness of a wife, and all the fondness of a mother," wrote Colonel Hamilton, "showed themselves in her appearance and conduct." They believed that she was entirely ignorant of his crime until it was revealed to her at the time of his flight.



ARNOLD'S ESCAPE.

Major André was tried at Tappan by fourteen general officers, found guilty, and hanged there on the 2d of October, 1780. He begged to be shot that he might die like a *soldier* and not as a *spy*. In a letter to Washington he pleaded with touching but manly earnestness for this boon. That letter has been thus paraphrased in verse, by Willis:

"It is not the fear of death that damps my brow,
 It is not for another breath, I ask thee now;
 I can die with a lip unstirr'd, and a quiet heart—
 Let but this prayer be heard ere I depart.

I can give up my mother's look—my sister's kiss;
 I can think of love—yet brook a death like this!
 I can give up the young fame I burn'd to win;
 All—but the spotless name I glory in.

Thine is the power to give, thine to deny
 Joy for the hour I live, calmness to die.
 By all the brave should cherish, by my dying breath,
 I ask that I may perish by a soldier's death."

The usage of both armies and the implacable demands of the military code toward a spy forbade a compliance with his wishes. The British officers, on all occasions, had been quick to hang American captives. We have seen how brutally they gibbeted young Nathan Hale; and scores of patriots in South Carolina had recently perished by the rope by order of Cornwallis, for no other offence than loving the service of their own country better than that of their oppressors. Every officer in the American army would gladly have exchanged André for Arnold, and efforts to accomplish that end were made, but failed. Arnold died in his bed twenty-one years afterward; while André, the more innocent victim of the wicked complot of Clinton and Arnold, perished on a gibbet four days after he was convicted. The last words of André to the multitude who saw him die were—"I pray you bear me witness that I met my fate like a brave man." The American people and their annalists have ever done so. His king knighted his brother, and pensioned his mother and sisters; and the custodians of Westminster Abbey dishonored that sanctuary of the virtuous and noble dead of the kingdom, by allowing a conspicuous monument to his memory to be placed in it. Arnold escaped punishment altogether, for his was too coarse a nature to suffer the mental anguish of remorse. He was shunned and neglected by those who accepted the treason but despised the traitor, excepting the king and a few persons in office; and he died in London, in poverty and obscurity. His children were placed on the pension-list of the realm.

The captors of André—the three young militiamen—were rewarded by the Congress with a vote of thanks; and to each was awarded a commemorative medal of silver and two hundred dollars a year for life. At the burial place of each a marble monument has been erected; and another marks the spot where André was arrested.



EXECUTION OF ANDRÉ.

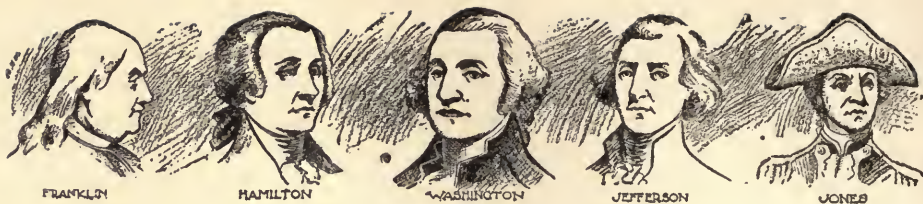
The year 1780 now drew to a close, yet the patriots were far from being subdued. The British government had expended vast sums of money and many precious lives in endeavors to subjugate them, and had involved the nation in a war with France, as a consequence. Yet English pluck would not yield an iota to adverse circumstances. Great Britain seemed to acquire fresh vigor when any new obstacle presented itself. Seemingly unmindful of the fact that large French land and naval forces were on the shores of America, the British ministry, when satisfied that Holland would give national aid to the "rebellious colonies," caused a declaration of war to be made against that power by the king, and procured from Parliament immense appropriations of men and money, ships and stores, to sustain the power of the empire on land and sea. British cruisers had already depredated upon Dutch commerce in times of peace; and the British government treated the Netherlands more as a vassal than as an independent nation. So early as May (1780) the British minister at the Hague had been instructed to inform his government concerning the current voyages of Dutch merchantmen, "that the British cruisers might know where to go for the richest prizes."

To prevent Holland joining the Armed-Neutrality league, the ministry sought a decent pretext for making war on that republic. It was found in October (1780) when Henry Laurens, late president of the Congress, who had been authorized by that body a year before to negotiate a commercial treaty with Holland and for a loan of ten million dollars from that government, was captured on the high seas by a British cruiser. Among his papers (which he threw into the sea, but which were recovered) were found an unofficial copy of a treaty with the Netherlands, and evidence that such negotiations had been going on between Holland and the United States. Here was the coveted pretext. Laurens was confined as a state prisoner in the Tower of London under circumstances of great severity, and on the 20th of December, the king declared war against Holland. Before his declaration had been promulgated, and while efforts were a-making at the Hague to conciliate England and avoid war, British cruisers pounced upon and captured two hundred unsuspecting Dutch merchantmen, laden with cargoes valued at more than five million dollars; and orders had gone forth for the seizure of the Dutch island of St. Eustatius. It was a cruel and unjust war, and deepened the hatred of Continental Europe for Great Britain. That government was regarded as a bully ready to oppress and plunder the weak.

Notwithstanding the Americans were not subdued at the close of 1780, their cause was in great peril from the weakness of its material props. The condition of the currency was an impediment to all vigorous measures. "A

wagon-load of money would scarcely buy a wagon-load of provisions." The States were urged to supply quotas of funds for the common use, but their responses were slow and feeble, and there was no central power competent to levy taxes or demand forced loans. A closer union and greater power in the general government were essential to success, and wise patriots in every position appealed to the people in favor of a stronger government. General Greene, who, as quartermaster-general, saw clearly the public needs, wrote in June, 1780: "The Congress have lost their influence. I have for a long time seen the necessity of some new plan of civil constitution. Unless there is some control over the States by the Congress, we shall soon be like a broken band." There was a spirit of patriotism among the people ample to meet the great emergency; but legislators lacked wisdom to grasp the problem. While the people yearned for a closer union and a truly national government, Virginia was contending for State supremacy. The legislators of that State agreed with John Adams, who wrote that the assembly in any State was "every way adequate to the management of all the federal concerns of the people of America, because Congress is not a legislative assembly, nor a representative assembly, but a diplomatic assembly."

At a convention of delegates from three New England States, held in Philadelphia in August, 1780, it was resolved that the national concerns should be "under the superintendency and direction of one supreme head," and recommended the investment of the Congress with such power. These words powerfully impressed the mind of young Hamilton, who was then a member of Washington's military family and his able secretary. He invited Mr. Duane, a representative of New York in the Congress, to propose in that body a convention of all the States in November following, and submitted a general plan for a national government, not in form but in concrete suggestions, full of wisdom and evidences of sound statesmanship. He said, truly, that the plan for a confederation which the Congress had adopted, and was awaiting the ratification of the several States, was "neither fit for war or peace," saying: "The idea of uncontrollable sovereignty in each State will defeat the powers given to Congress, and make our union feeble and precarious." At the same time Washington, who, from the beginning, had urged the necessity of a permanent military force, now pleaded for a system of enlistments "for the war," and other reforms in the army. "We have lived," he wrote, "upon expedients till we can live no longer. The history of this war is a history of temporary devices instead of a system." The Congress took measures for "reforming the army," but that body was powerless, and cast the burden of responsibility upon the several States.



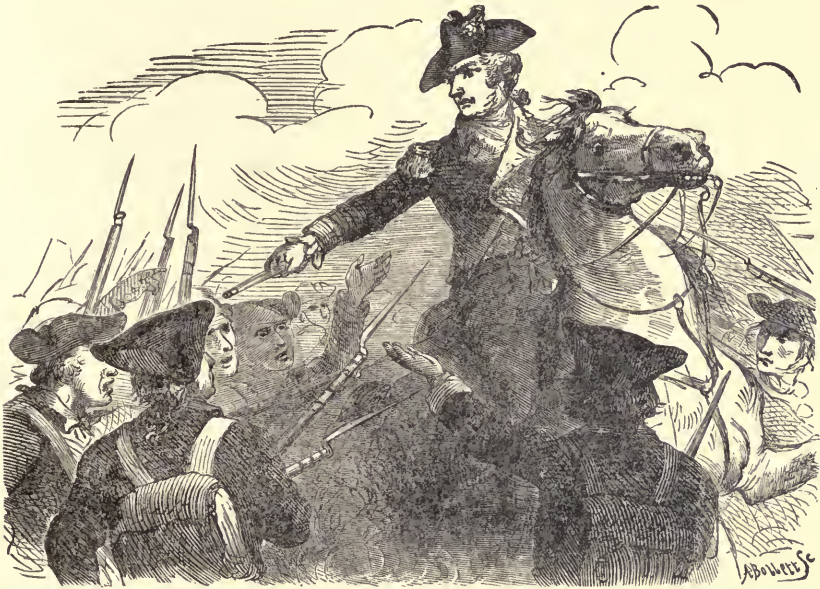
CHAPTER LXXXIII.

Patriotism of the Soldiers Remarkably Displayed—A Mutiny Suppressed—John Laurens and a French Loan—Articles of Confederation—A Bank Established—Greene Succeeds Gates—Cunningham's Atrocities—Battle at the Cowpens—Greene Chased by Cornwallis—Battle at Guilford Court-House—Fox and Pitt on American Affairs—Arnold in Virginia—Depredations by Phillips and Arnold—Lafayette and Steuben in Virginia—Cornwallis and Lafayette—Capturing Expeditions Foiled—Cornwallis Marches for the Sea-Coast—Orders from Clinton—Cornwallis Seated at Yorktown.

THE seventh year of the old war for independence (1781) opened with an extraordinary display of patriotism on the part of the Continental soldiers. Always lacking means for the prompt performance of their legitimate duties, the Congress were ever dilatory in carrying out their promises embodied in resolutions. The consequence was that the army suffered great privations for want of money and clothing. Not comprehending the real weakness of the Congress, loud complaints were uttered that sometimes grew into the manifestations of a mutinous spirit. The tardiness in exchanging prisoners, and the seeming neglect of them by the Congress, had been a source of much dissatisfaction from the time when the sugar-houses and churches in the city of New York were made prisons for the reception of American captives taken on Long Island and at Fort Washington in 1776. Their sufferings in those sugar-houses, three in number, and in the Provost prison under the wicked rule of Marshall Cunningham, were very terrible. The story of the horrors of those prisons and of the prison-ships near New York form some of the darkest chapters in human history.

At the time we are considering there was great dissatisfaction in the army because of the official interpretation of the words "for three years or during the war," in the terms of enlistment of the private soldiers. The latter claimed that it meant for three years if the war continued, or to be discharged sooner if the war should cease. The official interpretation was that it meant for three years or longer if the war continued. This matter, the promises of Congress repeatedly broken, and the real sufferings of the soldiers at that time from lack of necessities for themselves and their fami-

lies, partly on account of the worthlessness of the Continental money, caused thirteen hundred men of the Pennsylvania line to march from the camp at Morristown for Princeton, on the first of January, 1781, with the avowed intention of going to Philadelphia and, in person, demanding justice at the hands of Congress. General Wayne, their commander, tried by threats and persuasions to induce them to return to their duty. They regarded their time of enlistment as fulfilled; and when he placed himself before them and



GENERAL WAYNE AND THE MUTINEERS.

cocked his pistol, they presented bayonets at his breast, declaring that much as they loved and respected him, they would put him to death instantly if he should fire. He appealed to their patriotism. Finding they would not listen to him, he resolved to accompany them. At Princeton they gave him a written list of their demands. They appeared reasonable. He caused them to be laid before Congress, who promptly complied with them as far as possible, and disbanded a larger portion of the Pennsylvania line for the winter, which was filled by new recruits in the spring.

When Sir Henry Clinton heard of this movement, he mistook the spirit of the mutineers and hoped to gain great advantage from the revolt. He passed over to Staten Island with troops to support them, and sent two

emissaries among them, with a New Jersey Tory, bearing an offer to pay them the arrearages of their wages in hard cash, clothe them well, give each a free pardon, and take them under the protection of the British government if they should lay down their arms and march to New York. The soldiers treated his offers with scorn. "See, comrades," said one of them, "he takes us for traitors. Let us show him that the American army can furnish but one Arnold, and that America has no truer friends than we." They immediately seized the emissaries, and handed them over to Wayne to be tried as spies. They were found guilty and executed. The reward which had been offered for the apprehension of the emissaries was tendered to the soldiers, when they crowned their act of patriotism by refusing it, saying: "Necessity wrung from us the act of demanding justice from Congress, but we desire no reward for doing our duty to our bleeding country."

At the middle of January, a part of the New Jersey line followed the example of the Pennsylvanians. Washington, perceiving the danger of allowing troops to obtain even their just rights by mutinous ways, promptly put down this second revolt by force of arms, and hanged two of the ring-leaders. These measures of justice and harshness had a salutary effect. The Congress and the people saw the necessity for more efficient measures for the support of the army, and the former sent young Colonel John Laurens abroad to negotiate loans from France. Laurens bore a letter from Washington to Vergennes, setting forth the absolute need of aid at that time, and another from the chief to Franklin, written in a similar strain. Lafayette also sent by the same hand an urgent memorial to Vergennes. When the special ambassador one day stood before that minister, and in eloquent words in the French language pressed his errand, Vergennes said coldly, that the king had "every reason to favor the United States." These words and the manner of the minister kindled the indignation of the young diplomatist, and he replied, with emphasis: "Favor, Sir! The respect which I owe to my country will not admit the term. Say that the obligation was mutual, and I will acknowledge the obligation. But, as the last argument, I shall offer to your excellency this: The sword which I now wear in defence of France as well as of my own country, unless the succor I solicit is immediately accorded, I may be compelled, within a short time, to draw against France, as a British subject." This assertion had the intended effect. Nothing was more dreaded by France at that moment than a reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies, and a cessation of the war for independence. A subsidy of one million two hundred thousand dollars, and a further sum as a loan, were granted. At the same time the necessity for a closer union was generally felt by the Americans, and the imperfect plan for

a national government known as the *Articles of Confederation*, already described, was ratified by the requisite number of States, on the 1st of March, 1781. In May following an amendment was offered by Mr. Madison, for establishing a stronger central government. The same month Pelatiah Webster published a pamphlet in which he recommended a convention to revise the Articles.

The ratification of the defective constitution was also followed in May (1781) by the submission of a financial plan by Robert Morris for raising money for the support of the army, which seemed ready to be disbanded by



GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE.

their own act. It was perceived that the Congress had no power to enforce taxation. Morris proposed the establishment of a bank at Philadelphia with a capital of four hundred thousand dollars, the promissory notes of which should be a legal-tender currency to be received in payment of all taxes, duties and debts, due the United States. The plan was approved by the Congress, and that financial agent of the government was chartered with the title of *The President and Directors of the Bank of North America*. With the able guidance of Mr. Morris, who was the Secretary of the Treasury, that corporation furnished adequate means for saving the Continental army from

disbanding. He collected the taxes, and he used his private fortune freely for the public welfare.

The chief theatre of war continued to be in the South, where it was prosecuted with energy during a greater portion of 1781. On the 30th of October, 1780, General Nathaniel Greene was appointed to succeed Gates in command of the troops in the Southern States. Congress, perceiving their folly in making the Southern Department independent, gave Greene all the power which they had conferred upon their favorite, but "subject to the control of the commander-in-chief." This unity of the military forces had a most salutary effect. Greene hastened southward; and leaving Steuben in Virginia, to collect and forward troops, he reached Charlotte on the 2d of December, where he received a complaint from Cornwallis concerning the ten Tory prisoners who were hung on the tulip tree at King's Mountain. That complaint Greene quickly silenced, by sending to the earl a list of full fifty patriots who had been hanged by his orders, in South Carolina, because they were patriots; at the same time he avowed his determination to be governed by the principles of humanity, whatever the British commander might do to the contrary. Greene and his subordinates adhered to this principle, while the British leaders ridiculed the idea of extending mercy to the "rebels," whom they held to be traitors to the king and deserving of death. One of the most noted of the executors of the British will, in this regard, was Colonel William Cunningham, who was ordered by Colonel Balfour at Charleston to carry terror into the interior of South Carolina. At the head of a hundred and fifty white men and negroes, he carried out these orders during the winter of 1781. He killed every person suspected of being favorable to the American cause, and burned their houses. Full a hundred persons were murdered by this British agent, with the approval of his masters.

General Greene, with his usual energy, at once prepared to fight or pursue the enemy, as circumstances might require. He arranged his army in two divisions. With the main force he took post at Cheraw, east of the Pedee River, and sent General Daniel Morgan, the heroic leader at Saratoga, with about a thousand men, to occupy the country near the junction of the Broad and Pacolet rivers in Western South Carolina. Cornwallis, who was just preparing to march into North Carolina again, now found himself in a position of danger, for he was between two hostile forces. Unwilling to leave Morgan in his rear, he sent Tarleton to capture or disperse his troops. Before this superior force Morgan retreated over rivers and small streams, and through tangled marshes, to the Thicketty Mountains, in Spartanberg District, not far from the North Carolina line. There, near a place called

The Cowpens, where great herds of cattle were salted and marked by their owners, Morgan encamped on a plain covered by an open pine forest; and there he was overtaken by Tarleton, and compelled to fly again or fight. The brave soldier chose the latter, and with deliberation prepared for battle. About four hundred of his best men he arranged in battle order on a little rising ground—Maryland light infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel John Eager Howard composing the centre, and Virginia riflemen forming the



BATTLE AT THE COWPENS.

wings. Eighty dragoons, led by Lieutenant-Colonel William Washington, were placed out of sight as a reserve, and about four hundred Carolinians and Georgians under Pickens were in the advance to defend the approaches to the camp. North Carolina and Georgia sharp-shooters acted as skirmishers on each flank.

Such was the disposition of Morgan's little army when, at eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th of January, 1781, Tarleton, with eleven hundred troops, horse and foot, with two pieces of cannon, rushed upon the republicans with loud shouts. A furious battle ensued. In a skillful movement in the form of a feigned retreat, Morgan turned so suddenly upon his pursuers, who believed the victory was secured for them, that they wavered. Seeing this, Howard charged the British line with bayonets, broke their ranks, and sent them flying in confusion. At that moment Washington's cavalry suddenly broke from their concealment, and made a successful charge upon Tarleton's horsemen. The enemy was completely routed, and

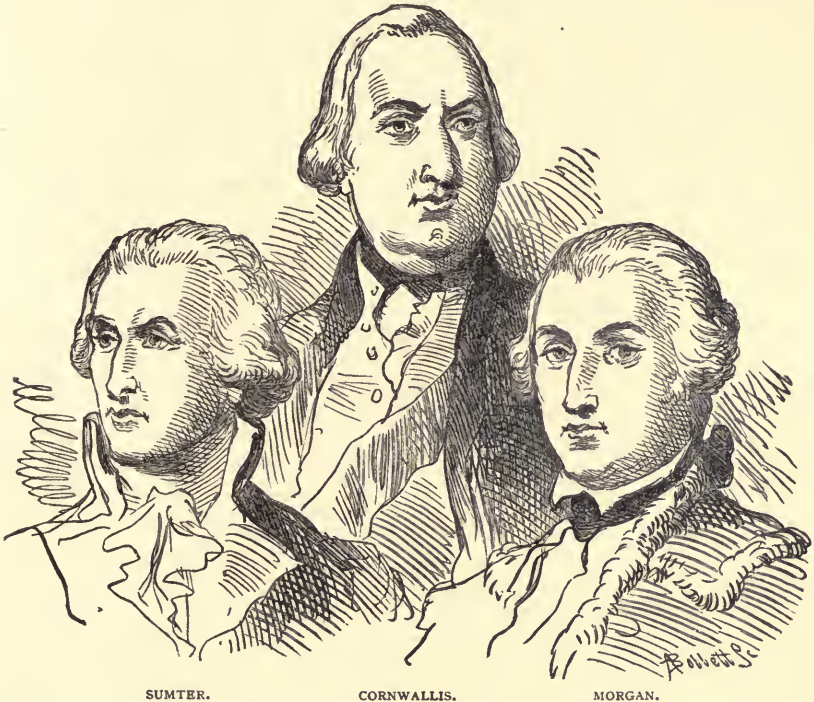
were pursued almost twenty miles in their eager flight. In this Battle of the Cowpens the Americans lost only seventy-two killed and wounded; the British lost over three hundred killed and wounded, and more than five hundred prisoners. The spoils were cannon, horses, wagons, eight hundred muskets, and two standards. The two cannon had been taken from the British at Saratoga, and were retaken by them at Camden. Tarleton's immense baggage, which he had left in the rear, was destroyed by his own men to prevent its being taken by the Americans. The Congress gave Morgan their thanks and a gold medal for his brilliant victory, and to Lieutenant-Colonels Howard and Washington each a silver medal.

At the close of the battle, Morgan pushed forward with his prisoners across the Broad River intending to pass the Catawba River and make his way toward Virginia. When Cornwallis heard of Tarleton's defeat, he started in pursuit of Morgan, with his whole army, as little encumbered with baggage as possible. He hoped to intercept the Americans at the fords of the Catawba, but he was too late. Morgan had crossed two hours before the arrival of the earl. Feeling sure of his prey, Cornwallis deferred crossing the river until morning. A heavy rain during the night swelled the stream to its brim, and he was kept back many hours. Meanwhile Morgan had reached the banks of the Yadkin, where he was joined by Greene. The latter, on hearing of the fight at the Cowpens, had left the camp at Cheraw in command of General Huger, and hastened to confer with Morgan. On the way he heard of the pursuit by Cornwallis, and sent back an order to Huger to break up the camp and join Morgan at Salisbury or Charlotte, in North Carolina. Cornwallis had been joined by troops from Camden under General Leslie; and at Ramsour's Mills (where, in June, 1780, North Carolina militia and a body of Loyalists had a sharp fight), he ordered all superfluous baggage and wagons to be destroyed. It was the 31st of January when Greene reached Morgan's camp on the Yadkin.

Now began one of the most remarkable military movements on record. It was the retreat of the Americans under Greene from the Catawba into Virginia, closely pursued by Cornwallis for about two hundred miles. When the waters of the Catawba had subsided, the earl had renewed the chase after Morgan; and he reached the western shore of the Yadkin (February 3) just as the Americans had formed for marching, on the eastern bank. Swelling floods again arrested the pursuers. Onward the retreating army pressed, but Cornwallis could not cross and give chase until the next day. At Guilford Court-House Greene was joined by his forces from the Pedee, but being still too weak to fight the stronger pursuers, he continued his flight, with the whole army, to the Dan, which he reached on the 13th of February.

The wearied troops crossed the rising flood and found repose in the bosom of Halifax county, in Virginia. The earl, unable to cross the ford because of the high water, discomfited a third time by the elements, gave up the chase, turned his face southward, and moving sullenly back through North Carolina, established his headquarters at Hillsborough.

Greene remained in Virginia only long enough to rest and recruit his army, when he recrossed the Dan (February 23) with the intention of



SUMTER.

CORNWALLIS.

MORGAN.

frustrating the efforts of Cornwallis to embody the Loyalists of North Carolina into military corps. The gallant Colonel Henry Lee, with his legion, was with Greene. At the head of his cavalry he scoured the country around the headwaters of the Haw and Deep rivers, where, by force and stratagem, he foiled Tarleton, who was recruiting among the Tories there. On the 2d of March he deceived Colonel Pyle, who was at the head of three hundred Loyalists, and near the Allamance Creek attacked, defeated, and dispersed his men. Tarleton, who was near, fled in alarm to Hillsborough, and the disheartened Tories returned to their homes. "I am among timid friends and adjoining inveterate rebels," Cornwallis wrote.

General Greene, in the meantime, had moved cautiously forward, and on the first of March found himself in command of almost five thousand effective troops. Feeling strong enough to cope with the earl, he sought an opportunity to fight him. The earl, too, was anxious to attack Greene, and on the 15th of March they met and contended fiercely near Guilford Court-House, not far from the present Greensborough, in Guilford county, North Carolina. Greene had encamped within eight miles of the earl on the evening of the 14th. The latter had been trying to bring on an engagement with the Americans, and on the morning of the 15th, he moved against Greene. The latter was prepared to receive his enemy. His main camp was upon a large hill surrounded by smaller ones, and all were covered with a forest of magnificent old trees, and thick underwood. Greene had sixteen hundred and fifty of the best veteran Continental troops, and two thousand militia; Cornwallis had nineteen hundred of the finest British veterans.

Greene disposed his army in three positions—the first at the edge of the woods on the greater hill; the second in the forest three hundred yards in the rear, and the third a little more than a fourth of a mile in the rear of the second. The first was composed of North Carolina militia, not quite eleven hundred in number and mostly raw recruits, commanded by Generals Butler and Eaton. They had two 6-pounders, with Washington's cavalry on the right wing and Lee's legion, with Campbell's militia, on the left wing. Their position was a very advantageous one. At a little past noon the British appeared on their front in full force, and, under cover of cannon-firing, they delivered a volley of musketry as they approached the Americans, and then, with a shout, rushed forward with their bayonets. The American militia fled after firing one or two volleys, when the victors, without halting, pressed on and attacked the second line composed of Virginia militia under Generals Stevens and Lawson. These were used to forest warfare and made a stout resistance for awhile, when they, too, fell back upon the regulars of the third line. Thus far the fight had been carried on by the British with their right, which was commanded by General Leslie; now Colonel Webster, who commanded the left, pressed forward with his division, in the face of a terrible fire of musketry and grape-shot. Greene commanded the Americans in person; and nearly the whole of the two armies were now in conflict. The battle lasted about two hours, when Greene, ignorant of the heavy losses of his enemy, ordered a retreat, leaving his cannon and the field to the British.

This was one of the sharpest battles of the war, and was disastrous to both armies. The Americans lost about four hundred killed and wounded, and a thousand who deserted to their homes; the loss of the British was

about six hundred. Among their mortally wounded was Colonel Webster. "Another such victory," said Charles James Fox in the House of Commons, "will ruin the British army." Fox moved (June 12) to recommend the ministers to conclude a peace, at once, with the Americans. On the same day, William Pitt, son of the great Chatham, and then only twenty-two years of age, spoke of the war against the Americans as a "most accursed" one, "wicked, barbarous, cruel, and unnatural; conceived in injustice, it was brought forth and nurtured in folly," he said; "its footsteps are marked with slaughter and devastation, while it meditates destruction to the miserable people who are the devoted objects of the resentments which produced it." Fox said: "America is lost, irrevocably lost to the country. We can lose nothing by a vote declaring America independent."

The battle at Guilford put an end to British domination in North Carolina. The forces of Cornwallis were too much shattered for him to maintain the advantage he had gained; so after issuing a proclamation, in which he boasted of his victory, called the Tories to rally to his standard and offered pardon to the "rebels," he moved, with his whole army, toward Wilmington, near the sea-board, while Greene retreated to the Reedy Fork. To these commanders might have been appropriately applied the line of a Scotch ballad:

"They baith did fight; they baith did beat; they baith did run awa."

When Greene heard of the earl's retreat, he pursued him as far as the Deep River, whence he turned back and moved toward Camden with a determination to strike a blow for the recovery of South Carolina.

Virginia, with great generosity, had sent her best troops to assist the Carolinians in their attempts to throw off the yoke of the oppressor. To prevent this movement, or to call back the Virginians to the defence of their State and so aid Cornwallis in his subjugation of the Carolinas, Arnold the traitor was sent with a marauding party of British and Tories, about sixteen hundred in number, with some armed vessels, to plunder, distress, and alarm the people of that State. In no other way could Arnold be employed by his master, for respectable British officers refused to serve with him in the army. The traitor appeared in Hampton Roads, with his motley host, at the close of December, and, ascending the James River in armed vessels and transports, he landed, with about a thousand men, at Westover, on the 2d of January, 1781. The Baron de Steuben had been left in Virginia by Greene, as we have observed, to gather up and discipline the levies voted by that State for the Southern army; and on the appearance of this new danger, the militia flocked to his standard. Believing Petersburg to be

Arnold's chief object, the Baron kept his small force on the southern side of the James River; but Arnold pushed on toward Richmond from Westover, to plunder the tobacco warehouses there. He offered to spare the town if his vessels might be permitted to carry away his plunder unmolested. The proposition was rejected with scorn by Governor Jefferson, when the invader applied the torch and laid the village and stores, public and private, in ashes. Then he withdrew to Westover, and re-embarked for a marauding raid down the river. He was pursued by Steuben and General Nelson, with Virginia militia; and having been warned by Admiral Arbuthnot, that French vessels from Rhode Island were on their way to the Chesapeake, Arnold fled up the Elizabeth River and made his headquarters at Portsmouth, opposite Norfolk.

Great efforts were made by the Americans to capture and punish Arnold. Jefferson offered five thousand guineas for his arrest, and Washington detached Lafayette, with twelve hundred troops drawn from the New England and the New Jersey levies, to march to Virginia to assist in protecting that State and catching the traitor. For the same purpose some French war-vessels were sent to the Chesapeake from Rhode Island in March, but as they could not go up the Elizabeth River, they soon returned to Newport.

Late in March, General Phillips, who had been sent from New York to Virginia with two thousand picked men, joined Arnold, and took the chief command. They went up the James River to plunder and ravage, and to attempt the subjugation of the State. They carried away or destroyed a vast amount of stores, and they also plundered the plantations of slaves and sent them to the West Indies to be sold. This formidable invasion caused widespread alarm. Lafayette was on his way, and Wayne was preparing to follow with Pennsylvanians. By a forced march of two hundred miles, the marquis reached Richmond at the close of April, twelve hours before Phillips and Arnold appeared on the opposite side of the river. He had just been joined by militia under Steuben, and they held the invaders in check. Two weeks later Phillips died at Petersburg of a malignant fever, when the command devolved upon Arnold a few days, until the arrival of Cornwallis, who, abandoning North Carolina, had marched into Virginia, hoping by that movement to draw Greene away from Lord Rawdon, then encamped at Camden. The earl so heartily despised Arnold that he could not endure him in his camp, and he sent him to New York. During the few days that the latter was in command he wrote an official letter to Lafayette, who returned it unopened, for he would have no communication with a traitor. One day Arnold found an intelligent young man among his prisoners, and questioned him respecting the feelings of his countrymen. "If the Americans should catch me, what would they do with me?" he asked. The

prisoner promptly replied: "They would bury, with military honors, your leg wounded at Quebec and Saratoga, and hang the rest of you."

Cornwallis determined to make the Virginians feel his power. He seized all the fine horses he could find along the James River, with which he mounted almost six hundred cavalry, whom he sent after Lafayette, then not far distant from Richmond, with three thousand troops, waiting for Wayne and his Pennsylvanians. The vigilant marquis fell slowly back.



WANTON DESTRUCTION OF LIVE-STOCK.

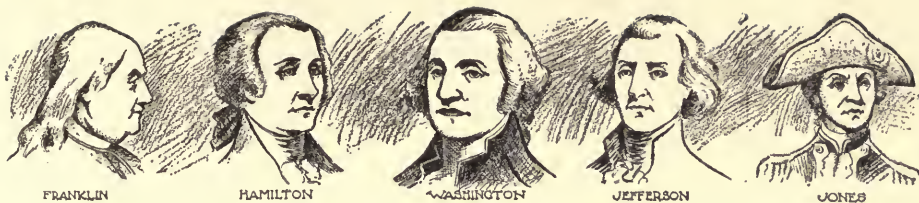
keeping north of the earl. He crossed the South and North Anna rivers, and at Raccoon's Ford, on the Rapid Anna River, he met Wayne with eight hundred men. Cornwallis had pursued him as far as Hanover Court-House, from which place the earl sent Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, with his *Queen's Rangers*, to capture or destroy stores in charge of Steuben at the Point of Forks, at the junction of the Rivanna and Fluvanna rivers. Steuben, warned of his approach, had taken most of his stores beyond the Fluvanna, which Simcoe's horses could not ford. Tarleton had been detached at the same time with orders to capture Governor Jefferson and the members of the Virginia legislature at Charlottesville, whither they had fled from Richmond. Only seven of the law-makers were captured. Jefferson narrowly escaped by fleeing from his house on horseback, accompanied by a single servant, and hiding himself in the mountains. He had left his dwelling only ten minutes before one of Tarleton's officers entered it.

Cornwallis was now at Jefferson's Elk Hill plantation, near the Point of

Forks, where he committed the most wanton destruction of property, cutting the throats of young horses not fit for service, slaughtering the cattle, burning the barns with the crops of the previous year, and destroying the growing ones, laying all the fences on the estate in ashes, and carrying away about thirty slaves. The agile Lafayette had now turned upon the earl. The latter supposing the forces of the marquis to be much greater than they really were, turned his face toward the sea-coast and retreated down the peninsula to Williamsburg, making his pathway a black line of desolation. It is estimated that during this invasion of Virginia, from the advent of Arnold in January, until Cornwallis reached Williamsburg late in June, property to the value of fifteen million dollars was destroyed, and thirty thousand slaves were carried off. The British had been closely followed by Lafayette, Wayne and Steuben, and were allowed to rest at Williamsburg. They were there reinforced, and were protected by shipping.

A few days after reaching Williamsburg, Cornwallis received an order from Sir Henry Clinton to send three thousand of his troops to New York, then menaced by the combined American and French forces. Clinton also directed the earl to take a defensive position in Virginia at some healthy location, and fortify it. This order greatly irritated the earl, for he regarded it as an intentional frustration of his own plan for an active campaign in Virginia. He aspired to Clinton's place, and was a favorite of Germain. Clinton knew that, and for a long time the two commanders had been excessively jealous of each other.

Cornwallis, satisfied that after he should send away so large a detachment of his army he could not cope with Lafayette, determined to cross the James River and make his way to Portsmouth. This movement was accelerated by the bold attitude of the republican troops, who were pressing close upon him. On the 6th of July, a detachment sent out by Wayne to capture a British field-piece, boldly resisted a large portion of Cornwallis's army, as the former fell back to Lafayette's main force near the Green Spring plantation, the estate of Governor Berkeley, where a sharp skirmish occurred, in which the marquis had a horse shot under him, and each party lost about a hundred men. The blow was so severe that Cornwallis hastened to cross the river, which he did on the 9th of July, and marched without further molestation to Portsmouth. Disliking that situation, he went to Yorktown, on the York River, and there, upon a high and healthful plain, he established a fortified camp. He also threw up strong military works at Gloucester, on the opposite side of the river. Here we will leave the earl, while we take a brief survey of military events in the Carolinas.



CHAPTER LXXXIV.

Battle between Greene and Rawdon near Camden—Rawdon Abandons Camden—Capture of British Posts—Patriotism of Mrs. Motte—Siege and Capture of Augusta—Siege of Fort Ninety-Six—Greene Raises the Siege and Pursues Rawdon—The Brave Emily Geiger—Greene on the High Hills of Santee—Murder of Isaac Hayne—Greene Pursues Stewart—Battle at Eutaw Springs—Greene Returns to the Santee Hills—The British Driven into Charleston—Junction of the American and French Troops—Arnold's Raid into Connecticut—Gathering of Troops at Williamsburg—Siege of Yorktown—Surrender of Cornwallis.

GREENE perceived that the possession of the interior of South Carolina depended on the posts at Camden and Ninety-Six, and he resolved to capture them. Lord Rawdon was in command at Camden with a force nine hundred in number, and strongly intrenched. When Greene relinquished the pursuit of Cornwallis, he marched directly against Rawdon, and arrived within a mile of his intrenchments on the 19th of April, 1781. The works were too strong for Greene's force to assail, and the latter were not numerous enough to invest them and begin a siege; so he withdrew to Hobkirk's Hill, a well-wooded eminence northward of Camden, and encamped within a mile and a half of Rawdon's intrenchments, where he awaited expected reinforcements under Sumter. There, on the 24th, he heard of the capture of a post at Wright's Bluff, below Camden, by Marion and Lee, and was impatient to fall upon Rawdon, for he was informed that almost five hundred troops were marching up the Santee to reinforce the latter. That night a drummer deserted to the enemy, and informed Rawdon of the weakness of Greene and his expectation of reinforcements immediately. Rawdon's provisions were almost exhausted, he saw no chance for success in battle excepting in an immediate surprise and attack. So he prepared to fall upon Greene early in the morning of the 25th.

At dawn Greene's cavalry, who had been on duty all night, were dismounted, their horses were unsaddled, and they were taking refreshments preparatory to a few hours repose. Some of the other soldiers were washing their clothes, and Greene and his staff were at a spring on the eastern slope

of Hobkirk's Hill, at breakfast. Rawdon had sallied out with his whole garrison, and by marching unperceived along the margin of a swamp, had gained the left flank of the Americans. Greene, partially surprised, quickly formed his little army in battle-line. His cavalry were immediately remounted. The Virginia brigade under General Huger, with Lieutenant-Colonels Campbell and Hawes, formed the right; the Maryland brigade (with Delaware troops under Kirkwood), led by Colonel Williams, with Colonel Gunby and Lieutenant-Colonels Ford and Howard, occupied the left, and the artillery under Colonel Harrison were in the centre, on the road. Washington's cavalry were directed to make a circuit through the woods and fall upon the rear of the enemy, and North Carolina militia were held as a reserve. In this position Greene prepared to receive the on-coming Rawdon. As the British troops moved slowly up the slope, with a narrow front, the regiments of Campbell and Ford were ordered to turn their flanks, and Gunby's Marylanders to assail their front with bayonets, without firing. The battle now opened with great vigor, the Virginians led by Greene in person. The artillery hurled grape-shot with deadly effect, when the British line wavered, and the Americans felt sure of gaining a victory. At that moment Captain Beatty, commanding a company of Gunby's veterans, was killed, and his followers gave way. Unfortunately an order followed for the whole regiment to retire, when the British broke through the American centre, pushed up the brow of the hill, and forced Greene to retreat. Washington, meanwhile, had succeeded in capturing about two hundred of the British soldiers, whose officers he quickly paroled; and in the retreat he carried away fifty of the captives. The Americans were chased a short distance, when Washington, turning upon his pursuers, by a gallant charge checked them. Greene saved all of his artillery and baggage, rallied his men at Rugeley's, crossed the Wateree River above Camden, and took a strong position to rest before marching on Ninety-Six. The loss of each was less than two hundred and seventy. This defeat was unexpected to Greene, and disconcerted him at first, but his genius and courage were equal to the occasion.

Rawdon followed Greene a little way beyond the Wateree, but finding the communication between Camden and Charleston broken by American partisans, he resolved to abandon the whole country north of the Congaree. He ordered Colonel Cruger to leave Fort Ninety-Six, and join a British force at Augusta; and on the 10th of May, after burning his stores and public and private buildings at Camden, Rawdon left that post forever, and marched down to Nelson's Ferry on the Santee, to drive off Marion and Lee, then besieging Fort Motte. But within six days afterward the post at Nelson's

Ferry, Fort Granby near the site of the city of Columbia, Fort Motte on the Congaree, and Orangeburg near the waters of the Edisto, fell into the hands of the Americans. Fort Motte was composed of the fine residence of Mrs. Rebecca Motte (a widowed mother with six children), and temporary fortifications constructed around it. Mrs. Motte was an ardent Whig, and had been driven from her house by the British. She had taken refuge at her



A DISPLAY OF GENUINE PATRIOTISM.

farm-house on a hill near by, when Marion and Lee approached with a considerable force. They had no artillery, and could make only a slight impression upon the fort. What was to be done had to be done quickly. Lee proposed to dislodge the enemy by hurling some combustible material upon the roof of the building and setting it on fire. Mrs. Motte readily consented to this destruction of her property. She brought out a strong Indian bow and some arrows, and with these a soldier, expert in their use, sent fire to the dry roof. When it burst into a flame, the alarmed garrison, one hundred and sixty-five in number, surrendered. The patriotic owner then

regaled both the American and British officers with a good dinner at her own table.

Marion now hastened to attack a British post at Georgetown; and Lee pushed forward toward the Savannah to aid Pickens and Clarke in holding the country between Ninety-Six and Augusta, to prevent the garrison at either place joining the other. In this they were successful. Rawdon's order to Cruger to evacuate Ninety-Six reached him when the pathway between that post and Augusta was closed by the partisan rangers; and Rawdon, alarmed by the rapid and successful movements of these partisans, fled toward the sea-coast, and did not halt until he reached Monks' Corners, well down toward Charleston. Pickens and Clarke had kept watch over the British at Augusta, and when, on the 20th of May, they were joined by Lee, they proceeded to invest the fort there. Fort Galphin, twelve miles below Augusta, was taken on the 21st of May, and then an officer was sent to demand the surrender of the main fort. Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, one of the most cruel of the Tories of that region, who was in command, refused to surrender, when a regular siege began. A general assault was about to be made on the 4th of June, when Brown proposed to surrender, and on the following day this important post passed into the hands of the Americans. In that siege the Americans lost fifty-one killed and wounded, and the British parted with fifty-two in the same way, and over three hundred made prisoners. At the close of the siege, Lee and Pickens hastened to Ninety-Six, then beleagured by the forces of Greene.

Kosciuszko was Greene's chief engineer, and with that skillful officer he began the siege of Ninety-Six on the 22d of May, with about a thousand men. The garrison numbered five hundred and fifty. The post was well fortified, and Cruger was a brave soldier. Some troops having arrived from Ireland early in June, Lord Rawdon, thus reinforced, hastened to the relief of the beleaguered fort, with about two thousand men. His approach was heralded by a horseman in the garb of a planter, who rode along the American lines at twilight one evening, and talked freely with the officers. It was a common occurrence, and attracted no special attention. When he reached the road leading directly to the fort, he put spurs to his horse and dashed toward the gate of the fortress followed by a score of bullets. He reached the portal unharmed, bearing in his upraised hand a large letter. It was a despatch to Cruger from Rawdon, announcing his approach. The former had not heard from the writer since he fled from Camden; and he was so hard pressed by the besiegers, who had cut off his water supply, that he was contemplating a surrender. The news encouraged the garrison to endure a little longer. When, on the 18th of June, Rawdon was drawing nigh,

Greene attempted to take the fort by storm. It was a disastrous failure. Only one of every six of the assailants escaped unhurt; one-third of them were killed. On the following day Greene raised the siege and fled beyond the Saluda, pursued some distance by the garrison.

The chief commanders of the contending armies now changed their relative positions. As the post of Ninety-Six could not be held, Rawdon ordered its abandonment. Leaving Cruger and the garrison to assist the



ARREST OF EMILY GEIGER.

loyalists in fleeing to Charleston from the wrath of their incensed neighbors, he pushed on toward Orangeburg, with about a thousand men, pursued by Greene, but avoiding a contest with him. Greene sent a message to Marion and Sumter, then on the Santee, to take a position in front of the enemy and impede his progress. His messenger was Emily Geiger, daughter of a German planter. No man in the army was willing to attempt the hazardous service, for the Tories were on the alert. The brave young girl was not more than eighteen years of age. She volunteered to carry a letter to Sumter. With his usual caution Greene told her its contents, so that, in case she might find occasion to destroy it, she could still bear the message to the partisan. The brave maiden mounted a fleet horse, crossed the

Wateree at the Camden Ferry, and while passing through a dry swamp on the second day of her journey, she was arrested by some Tory scouts. As she came from the direction of Greene's army, she was suspected of being a messenger. They took her to a house on the edge of the swamp, and with proper delicacy employed a woman to search her person. No sooner was she left alone than she ate up Greene's letter, piece by piece. The matron who was sent for searched in vain for any scrap of paper. Her captors made many apologies for detaining her, and Emily passed on to Sumter's camp. Very soon he and Marion were co-operating with Greene in sorely pressing the troops of Rawdon. Emily Geiger afterward married a rich planter on the Congaree.

When Greene approached Orangeburg, he found Rawdon reinforced and so strongly intrenched that he did not deem it prudent to attack him; and as the heats of summer were approaching, he crossed the Congaree and in July encamped his army on the High Hills of Santee, famous for the salubrity of the air and the purity of the water. Then Rawdon, leaving the troops at Orangeburg in command of Colonel Stewart, went down to Charleston, and complaining of ill-health soon embarked for England. A short time before he sailed, he was a party to an inhuman transaction. Among those who took protection after the fall of Charleston was Isaac Hayne, a planter in the low country. When the British were driven out of his section, by Greene's troops, they could no longer give him protection and feeling himself relieved from the obligation which it had imposed, he took command of a regiment of South Carolina militia. While in arms he was made prisoner. Colonel Balfour, then in command at Charleston, hesitated in disposing of him; but when Rawdon arrived, that officer, pursuant to the spirit of Cornwallis's orders, directed Hayne to be hung. This was done without even the form of a trial. Not even the prisoner anticipated such harsh treatment, until he was informed that he had not two days to live. The patriot's children, the women of Charleston, the lieutenant-governor of the province, all pleaded for his life in vain. The savage sentence was executed, and Isaac Hayne has been embalmed in history as a martyr. After Balfour's death, Rawdon tried to fix the ignominy of the act on that officer. It aroused the fiercest indignation even among moderate men who were inclined to feel kindly toward British rule; and the patriotic women of Charleston could not, at times, restrain their feelings of contempt for British officers after that. One day when Colonel Balfour was walking in the garden of Charles Elliot, in Charleston, with the wife of that gentleman, he pointed to a chamomile flower, and asked its name. "The rebel flower," said Mrs. Elliot. "And why is it called the rebel flower?" inquired Balfour,

"Because," replied the patriotic woman, "it always flourishes most when trampled upon."

Greene did not tarry long on the High Hills of Santee. He was reinforced there by North Carolina troops early in August, and toward the close of that month he crossed the Congaree with a greater part of his force, and marched upon Orangeburg. Stewart had just been joined by Cruger and the garrison of Fort Ninety-Six, but he immediately fled eastward forty miles and pitched his tents at Eutaw Springs, near the Santee. So secretly and skillfully was he pursued by Greene, that he was not fully aware that the republicans were after him until they were close upon his heels; and near the Springs a severe battle was fought on the 8th of September, 1781. Greene had moved before the dawn in two columns so stealthily that it was almost a surprise. The centre of his first line was composed of North Carolina militia-men, with a battalion of South Carolina militia on each flank commanded respectively by Marion and Pickens. The second line consisted of North Carolina regulars led by General Sumner, on the right; an equal number of Virginians under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell in the centre, and Marylanders commanded by Colonel Williams, on the left. Lee's legion covered the right flank, and troops led by Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson covered the left. Washington's cavalry with Kirkwood's Delawares formed a reserve, and each line had artillery on its front. Skirmishing commenced at eight o'clock in the morning, and very soon the fight became general and very severe. The British were defeated and driven from the field with much loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The victory was complete, when the Americans, like those under Sumter at Hanging Rock, spread over the deserted camp of the enemy, eating, drinking, and plundering. Very suddenly and unexpectedly the British renewed the battle, and after a terrible conflict for about five hours the Americans, who had lost heavily, were compelled to give way. Stewart felt insecure, for the partisan legions were not far away; so, that night, after breaking up a thousand muskets and destroying stores, he retreated toward Charleston. Early the next morning (September 9, 1781) Greene sent parties in pursuit, who chased the fugitives far toward the city by the sea, and then took possession of the battle-field. Although the advantage lay with the Americans, neither party could claim a victory. In killed, wounded and prisoners, the British lost full eight hundred men; the Americans lost about five hundred and fifty. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington was severely wounded in the second battle on that day, and was made a prisoner. For his good conduct on that occasion, Greene was presented by Congress with a vote of thanks, a gold medal, and a British standard taken

in the fight. Having a large number of sick soldiers, he left Eutaw Springs a few days after the battle, and again encamped on the High Hills of Santee, where he remained until the middle of November, when he marched his army into the low country, where he might obtain an abundance of food. Meanwhile his partisan corps under Marion, Sumter, Lee and others had been driving the British force from post to post in the low country, and smiting Tory bands in every direction. The British finally evacuated all of their interior stations and retired to Charleston, pursued almost to the verge of the city by partisan troops. Greene's main army occupied a position



GENERAL FRANCIS MARION.

between that city and Jacksonborough, where the South Carolina legislature had resumed its sessions. That able and skillful leader had not won victories in the field, but had accomplished the objects for which he fought. In the course of nine months he had recovered the three Southern States, and at the close of 1781, he had all the British troops below Virginia hemmed in the cities of Charleston and Savannah, General Wayne and his little army becoming the jailers at the latter place at the opening of 1782.

While these events were occurring south of Virginia, important ones had taken place in that State. We left Cornwallis at Yorktown establishing a fortified camp there. Lafayette had taken a position with his little army eight miles from

the British lines "to oppose the projects of the Court of St. James and the fortunes of Lord Cornwallis," he wrote to old Maurepas. He had plainly perceived the mistake of Clinton in ordering Cornwallis to take a defensive position in Virginia; and as early as July, he wrote to Washington from Randolph's, on Malvern Hill, urging him to march into Virginia in force, and saying, "Should a French fleet enter Hampton Roads, the British army would be compelled to surrender." The Count de Grasse was, at that time, in command of the French fleet in the West Indies, and Washington had received assurances that he would co-operate with the allied armies in any

undertaking that promised success. Meanwhile Rochambeau had led the French army from New England to the Hudson River, and the junction of the American forces and their allies was effected on the 6th of July, near Dobbs Ferry.

At that time Washington was contemplating an attack on the British in New York. Preparations were made for the movement; but before De Grasse was ready to co-operate with them, Sir Henry Clinton was reinforced by three thousand troops from England. They arrived at New York on the 11th of August. At about the same time Washington was informed that De Grasse could not leave the West Indies just then. Thus foiled, the commander-in-chief turned his thoughts toward Virginia, to which Lafayette had invited him. Thenceforth his plans were made in reference to an autumn campaign in that State. While he was yet uncertain what course it was best to pursue in the absence of a co-operating French fleet, he received from De Barras, the successor of Admiral de Ternay, who had died at Newport, the joyful intelligence that De Grasse was to sail for the Chesapeake Bay at the close of August with a powerful naval armament, and more than three thousand land troops. De Barras wrote: "M. de Grasse is my junior; yet, as soon as he is within reach, I will go to sea to put myself under his orders."

Washington had made ample preparations for marching into Virginia. To prevent any interference from Sir Henry Clinton he wrote deceptive letters to be intercepted, by which the British general was made to believe that his enemy still contemplated an attack upon New York. So satisfied was he that such was Washington's designs, that for nearly ten days after the allied armies had crossed the Hudson (August 23 and 24) and were marching through New Jersey, he believed the movement was only a feint to cover a sudden descent upon the city in overwhelming force. It was not until the 2d of September that he was convinced that the allies were marching against Cornwallis. Then he rejoiced that on the arrival of his reinforcements, he had countermanded his order for Cornwallis to send troops to New York.

On the 5th of September the allied armies encamped at Chester, in Pennsylvania, where Washington received news that De Grasse with his ships and land troops had entered Chesapeake Bay. The heart of the commander-in-chief was filled with joy, for in this event he saw a sure prophecy of success and the security of independence for his country. De Grasse had moored the most of his fleet in Lynn Haven Bay, barred the York River against reinforcements for Cornwallis, and landed three thousand troops, under the Marquis de St. Simon, on the peninsula, near old James-

town. Meanwhile De Barras had sailed from Newport, with a fleet conveying ten transports laden with ordnance for the siege of Yorktown. Arbuthnot had been succeeded in command of the British fleet at New York by Admiral Graves, a coarse, vulgar, and inefficient man. That officer, on hearing of the approach of the French fleet, sailed for the Chesapeake. De Grasse went out to meet him, and on the 5th of September they had a sharp fight, in which the British fleet was so much damaged that it returned to New York, leaving De Grasse master of the Chesapeake.

When Clinton was assured that Washington was really leading the armies to Virginia, he tried to recall some of the troops by menacing posts at the North. He threatened New Jersey, and caused a rumor to go abroad that he was about to attack the American works in the Hudson Highlands with a strong force. He also sent Arnold on a marauding expedition into New England. The traitor, with a band of regulars and Tories, crossed the Sound from Long Island, and on the 6th of September, landed his troops on each side of the Thames below New London. That town, which could offer very little resistance, was plundered and burned. Fort Griswold, at Groton, opposite New London, was taken by storm after a gallant defence by Colonel Ledyard and his little garrison of one hundred and fifty poorly-armed militia-men. Only six of the Americans were killed in the fight; but after the surrender, the British officer in command murdered Colonel Ledyard with his sword, and refused to give quarter to the garrison. Seventy-three were massacred. Some were badly wounded, and others were carried away captive. Some of the wounded were placed in a baggage-wagon at the brow of the hill on which the fort yet stands, and it was sent down the rough and steep slope, a hundred rods, with great violence, for the purpose of plunging the helpless victims into the river. The jolting caused some of the wounded to expire, while the cries of agony from the lips of the survivors were heard across the river in the midst of the crackling noise of the burning town. An apple-tree had arrested the course of the wagon, and there the sufferers remained more than an hour, when their captors laid them on the beach and left them to die. Friendly hands conveyed them to a house near by, where they were cared for by tender women. With this atrocious expedition the name of Benedict Arnold disappears from history.

Neither Clinton's threats nor Arnold's atrocities stayed the onward march of the allied troops. It was intended to transport them by water from the head of Elk (now Elkton, in Maryland), but there were not sufficient vessels there for the purpose, and a greater portion of them made their way to Annapolis by land. Afterward the whole of the allies were carried by water to the James River by transports from the squadron of De Barras.

From Baltimore, where he arrived on the 8th of September, Washington, accompanied by Rochambeau and the Marquis de Chastellux, journeyed to his home at Mount Vernon, from which he had been absent since July, 1775. There they remained two days, when they departed for Williamsburgh, and arrived there on the 14th. Washington immediately repaired to the *Ville de Paris*, De Grasse's flag-ship, lying off Cape Henry, to meet the admiral, and to congratulate him on his victory over Graves on the 5th. There satisfactory arrangements were made for a combined attack upon Yorktown by land and water, as soon as the troops should reach Williamsburgh. While waiting for the slowly approaching forces, word came that the British fleet at New York had been reinforced. De Grasse proposed to leave some frigates to blockade the York River, and go out in his great ships in quest of the enemy. There would be great danger in such a movement. The British fleet might enter Chesapeake Bay, and assist Cornwallis in making his escape. Washington perceived the peril, and persuaded De Grasse to remain. The last division of the allied forces reached Williamsburgh on the 25th of September, when preparations for the siege were immediately begun.

Cornwallis had solicited aid from Clinton. On the 17th he wrote: "This place is in no state of defence. If you cannot relieve me very soon, you must be prepared to hear the worst." On the same day a council of Clinton's officers in New York decided that Cornwallis must be relieved "before the end of October"—and so he was, but not by their aid.

On the 28th the allied armies marched from Williamsburgh, about twelve thousand in number, to begin the siege of Yorktown, twelve miles distant, driving in the British outposts on the way. Some of the allies took possession of outworks which the British had abandoned, and then sent out covering parties for the diggers of trenches and builders of redoubts. The line of the allies extended in a semicircle about two miles from the British works, each wing resting on the York River, and on the 30th the place was completely invested. On account of the possession of the abandoned outworks, the allies were in an advantageous position to command the British lines and carry on the siege by opening trenches. The enemy at Gloucester were imprisoned by the French dragoons under the Duke De Lauzun, Virginia militia under General Weedon, and eight hundred French marines. Only once did the British attempt offensive operations from that point. Tarleton and his legion once sallied out, but were soon driven back by Lauzun's cavalry, who took Tarleton's horse a prisoner and came near capturing its owner.

In the besieging line the French troops occupied the left, the West India

troops of St. Simon on the extreme flank. The Americans were on the right, and the French artillery, with the quarters of the two commanders, occupied the centre. The American artillery under General Knox were on the right. De Grasse remained in Lynn Haven Bay to beat off any British fleet that might attempt to relieve Cornwallis.

On the night of the 6th of October, the heavy ordnance had been brought from the vessels, and trenches were begun at a distance of six hundred yards from the British works. The night was dark and stormy, and at dawn the Americans, working under the command of General Lincoln, had completed the first parallel, their labors being entirely unsuspected by the British sentinels. On the afternoon of the 9th several batteries and redoubts were completed, and a general discharge of heavy guns was begun by the Americans on the right. All night long cannon thundered, and the roar of artillery was increased early in the morning when the French on the left opened several batteries. At evening (October 10) the French hurled red-hot cannon-ball upon British vessels in the river, which fired the *Charon*, a 44-gun ship, and three heavy transports, and all were consumed. The whole scene that night was one of terrible grandeur.

On the night of the 11th the allies began the second parallel within three hundred yards of the British works. This labor was not discovered by the enemy until daylight, when they brought heavy guns to bear upon the diggers. It took them days to complete this second parallel. Two redoubts that commanded the trenches and greatly annoyed the diggers were breeched by the cannon-balls of the besiegers on the 14th, when it was determined to attempt to take them by storm. One on the right, near the York River, was garrisoned by forty-five men; the one on the left was manned by about one hundred and twenty men. The capture of the former was intrusted to Americans led by Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton, and that of the latter to French grenadiers led by Count Deuxponts. At a given signal Hamilton advanced in two columns—one led by Major Fish, the other by Lieutenant-Colonel Gimat, Lafayette's aid, while Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, with eighty men, turned the redoubt to intercept a retreat. The assailants leaped the *abatis* and the palisades with so much celerity, and attacked the garrison so furiously, that the redoubt was captured in a few minutes with little loss on either side. Laurens was among the first to enter the work and make the commander, Major Campbell, a prisoner. The life of every man who ceased to resist was spared. In the meantime the French, after a severe struggle with ball and bayonet (in which they lost about a hundred men in killed and wounded), captured the other redoubt in a similar manner. As they charged the garrison with the bayonet, Deuxponts, their

leader, shouted "Vive le Roi!" and the cry was echoed by his followers. Washington, with Knox and some others, had watched these movements with intense anxiety; and when he saw both redoubts in possession of his troops, he turned to Knox and said, "The work is done, and well done." Then calling to his favorite body-servant, he said: "Billy, hand me my horse." That night both redoubts were included in the second parallel.



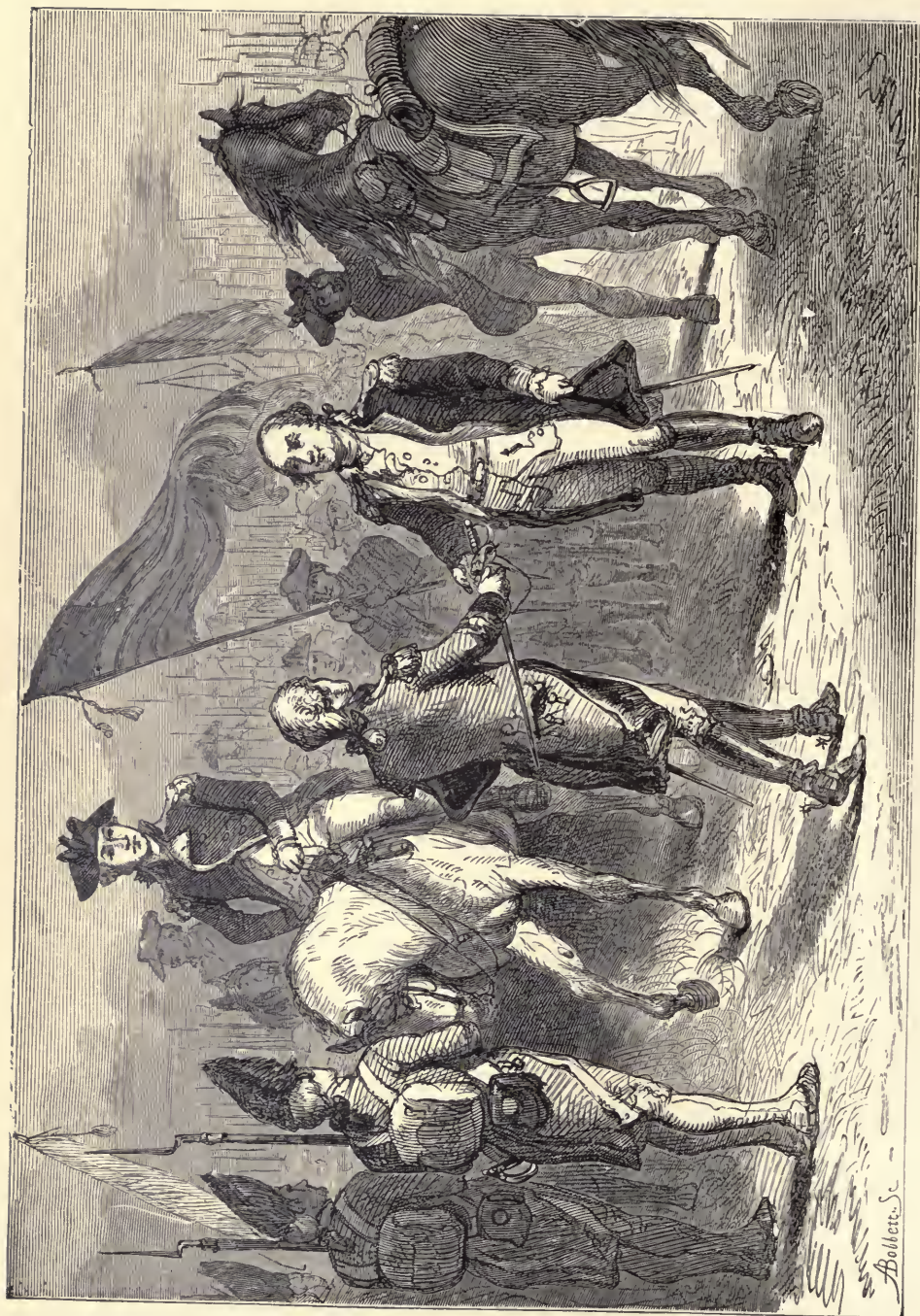
CAPTURE OF A REDOUBT AT YORKTOWN.

The situation of Cornwallis was now becoming desperate. A superior force environed him, and his works were crumbling; and he knew that when the second parallel of the besiegers should be completed, his post would be untenable. He resolved to make an effort to escape by abandoning his baggage and sick, crossing the river with his troops to Gloucester, cutting up or dispersing the allies who were imprisoning the British garrison there, and by rapid marches gaining the forks of the Rappahannock and Potomac, and, forcing his way through Maryland and Pennsylvania, join Clinton at New York. Boats for the passage of the York were prepared, and on the evening of the 16th a part of the troops were carried over to Gloucester, when a furious storm of wind and rain, as sudden as a summer tornado, arose and made any further attempt to pass the river too hazardous to be undertaken. The troops were brought back. The earl lost hope. The bombardment of his lines was very severe and destructive, and on the 17th he proposed to surrender. On the following day Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens and Viscount de Noailles (a relative of Lafayette's wife), as commissioners on the

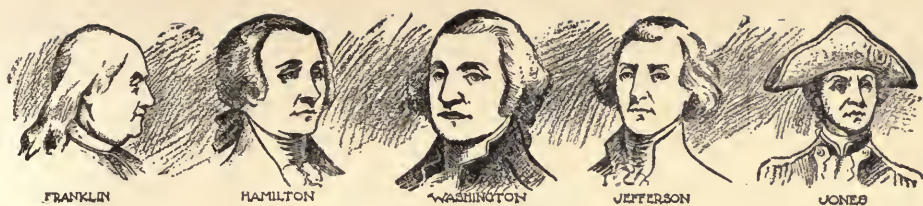
part of the allies, met Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas and Major Ross of the British army, and drafted a capitulation. The terms were similar to those demanded of Lincoln at Charleston. All the troops were to be prisoners of war, and all public property was to be surrendered. All slaves and plunder found in possession of the British might be reclaimed by their owners; otherwise, private property was to be respected. The loyalists were abandoned to the mercies or resentments of their countrymen. Such were the general terms; but by the packet which carried his despatches to Sir Henry Clinton, Cornwallis managed to send away persons who were most obnoxious to the Americans.

Late in the afternoon of the 19th of October, 1781, the surrender of Cornwallis and his army took place. The allied troops were drawn up in two columns. Washington on his white charger was at the head of the Americans; and Rochambeau on a powerful bay horse at the head of the French columns. A vast concourse of people from the surrounding country were spectators of the impressive scene. Cornwallis, feigning sickness, sent General O'Hara with his sword, as his representative. That officer led the vanquished troops out of their intrenchments with their colors cased, and marched them between the victorious columns. When he arrived at their head he approached Washington to hand him the earl's sword, when the commander-in-chief directed him to General Lincoln as his representative. It was a proud moment for Lincoln. Only the year before he had been compelled to make a humiliating surrender to royal troops at Charleston. He led the subdued army to the field where they were to lay down their arms, and then received from O'Hara the sword of Cornwallis, which he politely returned to be given back to the earl. The standards, twenty-eight in number, were then given up, and the royal army laid down their arms.

The whole number of troops surrendered was about seven thousand. To these must be added two thousand sailors, eighteen hundred negroes, and fifteen hundred Tories, making the total number of prisoners over twelve thousand. Besides these, the British lost in killed, wounded and missing during the siege, about five hundred and fifty men; the loss of the Americans was about three hundred. The spoils of victory were nearly eight thousand muskets; seventy-five brass and one hundred and sixty iron cannon, and a large quantity of munitions of war and stores. To accomplish this great victory, the French had provided thirty-seven ships-of-the-line and seven thousand men; and the Americans furnished nine thousand troops, of which number five thousand five hundred were regulars.



GENERAL LINCOLN RECEIVING CORNWALLIS'S SWORD FROM GENERAL O'HARA



CHAPTER LXXXV.

Effect of the Surrender of Cornwallis, in Europe and the United States—The News in Philadelphia—Scenes in Parliament—Negotiations for a Treaty of Peace Begun—Various Military Movements—Washington Adopts His Stepson's Children—Affairs in South Carolina—Evacuation of Savannah and Charleston—Peace Commissioners Appointed—Preliminary Treaty with Great Britain—Treaty with Holland—Great Seal of the United States—A Budding Conspiracy Rebuked by Washington—Departure of the French Army—Seditious Movement at Newburgh Foiled by Washington—Gradual Disbanding of the Army—Treaty with Sweden—Definitive Treaty of Peace—Washington's Farewell Addresses—The Two Armies—Evacuation of the City of New York—The Last Combat.

ON the day after the surrender of Cornwallis, Washington, in general orders, expressed his great approbation of both armies. That all his soldiers might participate in the general joy and thanksgiving, he ordered every one under arrest or in confinement to be set at liberty; and as the following day would be the Sabbath, he closed his orders by directing divine service to be performed in the several brigades on the morrow.

The surrender of so large a portion of the British army in America secured the independence of the United States. The blow of final disseverance had fallen; war would no longer serve a useful purpose; humanity and sound policy counselled peace. The king and his ministers were astounded when the news of the surrender reached them. Lord North received the intelligence, said Germain, "as he would have taken a cannon-ball in his breast, for he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the apartment a few minutes, 'O God, it is all over!' words which he repeated many times under emotions of the deepest consternation and distress." The stubborn king was amazed and greatly disturbed, but he soon recovered his calmness and wrote in view of propositions in the Parliament to give up the contest: "No difficulties can get me to consent to the getting of peace at the expense of a separation from America."

Great was the exultation and joy of the Americans as the news of the surrender went from lip to lip throughout the Union. Lieutenant-Colonel Tighlman, one of Washington's aids, rode express to Philadelphia to carry the despatches of his chief announcing the joyful tidings to the Congress.

It was midnight (October 23) when he entered the city. Thomas McKean, then President of the Congress, resided on High Street near Second Street. Tighlman knocked so violently at his door that a watchman was disposed to arrest him as a disturber of the peace. McKean arose, received the messenger with joy, and soon the glad tidings spread over the city. The watchmen proclaiming the hour, and the usual cry "All's well!" added "and Cornwallis is taken!" That announcement, going out upon the frosty night air, called thousands from their beds. The old State-House bell that sounded so clearly when independence was declared more than five years before, now rang out tones of gladness. Lights were seen moving in almost every house; and very soon the streets were thronged with men and women, all eager to know the details. It was a night of great joy in Philadelphia, for the people had anxiously waited for news from Yorktown. The first flush of morning was greeted with the booming of cannon; and at an early hour the Congress assembled and heard Charles Thompson read the despatch from Washington. That grave Senate could hardly repress huzzas while the Secretary read; and at its conclusion it was resolved to go in a body, at two o'clock in the afternoon, to the Dutch Lutheran Church, and "return thanks to Almighty God for crowning the allied armies of the United States and France with success." Six days afterward that body voted thanks and appropriate honors to Washington, Rochambeau, and De Grasse and their officers, and resolved that a marble column should be erected at Yorktown with emblems of the alliance in commemoration of the event. The Congress also appointed a day for a grand thanksgiving and prayer throughout the Union, on account of the signal mark of Divine power. Legislative bodies, executive councils, city corporations, and many private societies presented congratulatory addresses to the commanding generals and their officers; and from almost every pulpit in the land arose the voice of thanksgiving and praise accompanied by the alleluias of thousands of worshipers before the altars of the Lord of Hosts.

The Duke de Lauzun bore the glad tidings to France, where he found the king and court rejoicing because of the birth of a dauphin, or heir to the French throne. The news reached England by way of France on the 25th of November, and produced the effect already noticed. The city of London petitioned the king to "put an end to the unnatural and unfortunate war;" and in Parliament, a great and rapid change of opinion on the subject was visible. Late in February General Conway, in the House of Commons, moved to address the king in favor of peace, when warm debates arose, Lord North defending the royal policy with vigor on the ground of its justice and its maintenance of British rights. "Good God! are we yet to

be told of the rights for which we went to war?" exclaimed Burke. "O, excellent rights! O, valuable rights! Valuable you should be, for we have paid dear at parting with you. O, valuable rights! that have cost Britain thirteen provinces, four islands, one hundred thousand men, and more than seventy millions [\$350,000,000] of money." Conway's proposition was carried at the beginning of March.

The opposition in Parliament now pressed measures for peace more vigorously; and on the 20th of March (1782) Lord North, who, under the inspiration of the king, had misled the nation for twelve years, retired from office, and he and his fellow-ministers were succeeded by the friends of peace. The stubborn king stormed, but was compelled to yield to the inexorable logic of events. The Parliament resolved to end the war at once, and he was obliged to give his sanction; and early in May, Sir Guy Carleton arrived in New York, bearing propositions for reconciliation. Lord Shelburne, who had charge of American affairs in the new cabinet, selected Richard Oswald, a merchant, as a diplomatic agent to repair to Paris and confer with Dr. Franklin on the subject of a treaty for peace.

In the meantime the Americans did not relax their vigilance nor preparations for the continuance of the war. General Greene, as we have observed, left the High Hills of Santee, when he heard of the surrender of Cornwallis, and marched toward the seaboard. The South Carolina legislature at Jacksonborough authorized Governor Rutledge to offer pardon to all penitents, and hundreds of Tories gladly availed themselves of the privilege. General St. Clair, while on his way to reinforce Greene, had driven the British from Wilmington and left the Tories of North Carolina undefended, amazed and confounded. Wayne, as we have observed, was keeping the enemy close within his intrenchments at Savannah, and Washington, who returned to the North soon after the surrender of Cornwallis, closely imprisoned Sir Henry Clinton and his army in New York. When the commander-in-chief had completed his arrangements to leave Yorktown, he hastened to the bedside of Mr. Custis, his aid, and the only son of Mrs. Washington, who was dying of camp fever at Eltham, the seat of Colonel Bassett. He was met at the door by Dr. Craik, who informed Washington that all was over. The chief bowed his head, and with tears gave vent to his great sorrow; then turning to the weeping widow, the mother of four children, he said: "I adopt the two younger children as my own." These were Eleanor Parke and George Washington Parke Custis, the former then three years of age, and the latter six months. Washington remained a short time to console the afflicted widow, and then pressed on toward Philadelphia and the Hudson River.

Marion and his men kept watch and ward over the country between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, to prevent intercourse from the enemy at Charleston, and the latter began to feel straitened in their supplies. When General Leslie, who was in command of the British army in that city, heard of the peace proceedings in Parliament, he proposed to General Greene a cessation of hostilities, and asked the latter to allow him to purchase food for his troops. Greene was unwilling to nurture a viper in his own bosom.



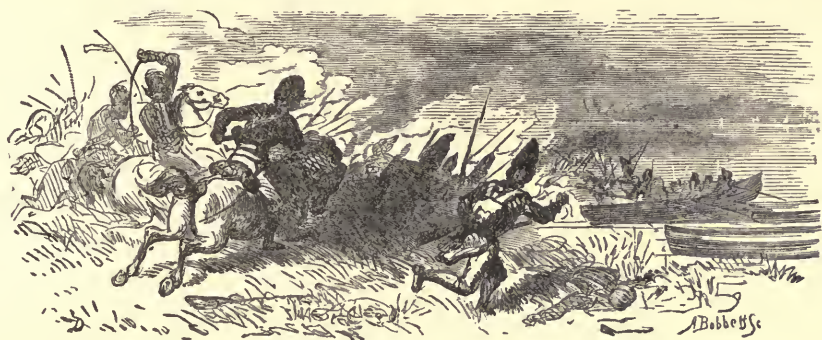
ELEANOR PARKE CUSTIS.
Aged 20 years.

GEORGE W. P. CUSTIS.
Aged 7 years.

and refused. Leslie made several ineffectual attempts to penetrate the country by force of arms to procure supplies; and in August he sallied out in considerable force, and attempted to ascend the Combahee River, when he was confronted by General Gist, who, with about three hundred men of the Maryland line, horse and foot, had been detached to watch the movements of the British. After a severe skirmish near Combahee Ferry, the enemy were driven to their boats. They succeeded in carrying away from the neighboring islands a large amount of plunder, and returning to Charleston enriched by considerable supplies. In that skirmish the accomplished Colonel John Laurens was slain. His blood was almost the last that was spilled in the struggle for independence. It is believed that the very last

life sacrificed in the cause was that of Captain Wilmot, who was killed in a skirmish at Stono Ferry in September following.

The British had evacuated Savannah on the 11th of July, when General Wayne, in consideration of the eminent services of Colonel James Jackson, appointed the latter "to receive the keys" of that city "from a committee of British officers." So Georgia was redeemed forever from British rule, and Wayne joined his forces to those of Greene. Charleston was evacuated



BATTLE ON THE COMBAHEE.

on the 14th of December following. At daylight on that morning the British left Gadsden's wharf for their ships, and at eleven o'clock an American detachment marched in and took formal possession of the city, when General Greene escorted the governor and other civil officers to the Town Hall. From windows and balconies, and even from the house-tops, the American troops were greeted with cheers, waving of handkerchiefs, and cries of "Welcome! welcome! God bless you, gentlemen!" Before sunset the British fleet of transports, about three hundred sail, had crossed the bar and disappeared below the eastern horizon.

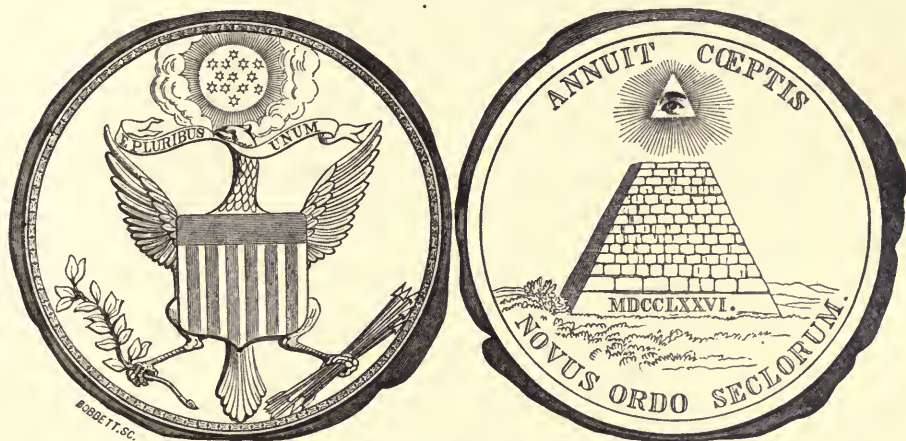
Measures had meanwhile been taken by the Congress and the British government to arrange a treaty of peace. The former appointed (September, 1782) four Commissioners for the purpose, that different States of the Union might be represented. These Commissioners were John Adams of Massachusetts, John Jay of New York, Dr. Franklin of Pennsylvania, and Henry Laurens of South Carolina, who were all in Europe at that time. The British government gave Mr. Oswald full power to treat for peace with these Commissioners. He had discussed the terms with Dr. Franklin, who assured him that independence, satisfactory boundaries, and a participation in the fisheries would be indispensable requisites in a treaty. In July the

British Parliament had passed a bill to enable the king to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and all obstacles in the way of negotiation were removed. The American Commissioners first named were joined by Laurens at Paris, where the negotiations were carried on. There, on the 30th of November, a preliminary treaty of peace, on the basis of independence, was signed by the American Commissioners and Mr. Oswald without the knowledge of the French government. This was in violation of the spirit of the terms of alliance, by which it was understood (and the Commissioners had been so instructed) that no treaty should be signed by either party to the alliance without the knowledge of the other. Some of the Commissioners doubted the good faith of Vergennes, believing him to be swayed by Spanish influence; but he acted honorably throughout. Dr. Franklin, who never doubted him, removed the dissatisfaction in the mind of Vergennes, because of this affront, by a few soft words. In the meantime the States-General of Holland had acknowledged the independence of the United States by receiving John Adams as an ambassador from the Congress in April of that year; and on the 8th of October (1782) they concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with them. This was signed at the Hague by Mr. Adams and representatives of the Netherlands. It was not ratified until January, 1783.

Coincident with these preparations for a solid national existence, was the adoption of a device for a great seal—the symbol of sovereignty and authority—for the inchoate republic. A committee for the purpose was appointed on the afternoon of the 4th of July, 1776. That committee and others, from time to time, presented unsatisfactory devices. Finally, in the spring of 1782, Charles Thompson, the Secretary of Congress, gave to that body a device largely suggested to John Adams by Sir John Prestwich of England, which was made the basis of a design adopted on the 20th of June, 1782, and which is still the device of our great seal. It is composed of a spread-eagle, the emblem of strength, bearing on its breast an escutcheon with thirteen stripes alternate red and white. In his right talon he holds an olive-branch, emblem of peace, and in his left, thirteen arrows, emblems of the thirteen States, ready for war if it should be necessary. In his beak is a ribbon bearing the legend: *E Pluribus Unum*—"many in one"—many States making one nation. Over the head of the eagle is a golden light breaking through a cloud surrounding thirteen stars forming a constellation on a blue field. On the reverse is an unfinished pyramid, emblematic of the unfinished republic, the building of which is still going on. In the zenith is an All-seeing Eye surrounded by light, and over the eye the word *Annuït Cœptis*—"God favors the undertaking." On the base of the pyramid, in

Roman numerals, the date 1776, and below the words: "*Novus ordo seclorum*"—"a new series of ages." So the Americans showed their faith in the stability of the structure whose foundations they had laid. Only the side on which the eagle and escutcheon appear has ever been used, and that as a recumbent seal the size of the engraving here given.

With the joyful prospect of returning peace came many shadowing forebodings of evil in the near future for the poor soldiers, when the army



GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

should be disbanded and they be compelled to seek other employment for a livelihood among the desolations caused by war. Many of them were invalids; and for a long time neither officers nor private soldiers had received any pay, for the treasury was empty, and the prospect of a continuance of the poverty of the government had produced widespread discontent in the army. The officers had been promised half-pay for life; but would that promise be fulfilled? was a question that pressed upon the minds of many. Contemplating the evidently inherent weakness of the government, many were inclined to consider it a normal condition of the republican form and to sigh for a stronger one—like that of Great Britain. This feeling became so manifest in the army, that Colonel Nicola, a foreigner by birth and of weighty character, at the head of a Pennsylvania regiment, addressed a well-written letter to Washington in May, 1782, in which, professing to speak for the army, he urged the necessity of a monarchy to secure for the Americans an efficient government and the rights of the people. He proposed to Washington to accept the headship of such a gov-

ernment with the title of king, and assured him that the army would support him. Possibly a budding conspiracy to that end existed in the army, but it was crushed by the stern rebuke administered by the chief in a letter to Nicola. "If I am not deceived," Washington wrote, "in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable."

Many months later discontents in the army assumed a more dangerous form. The headquarters of the army had been, during the autumn of 1782, at Verplanck's Point, on the Hudson, when the troops numbered about ten thousand men. There they formed a promised junction with the French army on their return from Virginia. From that point the latter marched to New England ports and embarked for France, and the Americans went above the Highlands and spent the ensuing winter in huts in the vicinity of Newburgh. At the latter place Washington made his quarters in a house yet standing in the southern portion of that rural city, on the brow of a slope extending to the river.

In the latter part of the winter of 1783, the discontent in the army appeared more formidable than ever. In December (1782), the officers seeing in the continued weakness and poverty of their government no apparent security for a future adjustment of the claims of the army for back-pay or for the promised half-pay for a term of years for themselves, sent a respectful memorial to the Congress by the hands of General McDougall, the head of a committee appointed for the purpose, in which they asked (1) for present pay; (2) a settlement of arrearages of pay and security for what was due; (3) a commutation of the half-pay or an equivalent in gross; and (4) a settlement of the accounts of deficiencies of rations, clothing, and compensation. The Congress adopted a series of resolutions on the subject, late in January, which were not very satisfactory. Feeble in resources, they made no definite promises of present relief or future justice, and the discontents of the army were greater than before. Early in March a well-written address to the army was circulated extensively through the camps. It bore no name of author, but was calculated to stir up the spirit of revolt in the hearts of the soldiers. It advised the army to take matters into their own hands, make demonstrations of power and determination that should arouse the fears of the people and of the Congress, and so obtain justice for themselves. With this address was circulated privately a notification of a meeting of officers at a large building called The Temple, which had been erected for public meetings and a gathering-place for the Freemasons of the army.

These papers were brought to the notice of Washington on the day

when they were issued, and he determined to guide and control the movement. In general orders the next morning he referred to them; expressed his disapprobation of the whole proceedings as disorderly, and requested the general and field officers, with one officer from every company in the army, to meet at the "New Building" (The Temple) on the 15th at noon. General Gates, the senior officer, was requested to preside. On the appearance of this order, the writer of the anonymous addresses issued another,



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT NEWBURGH.

more subdued in tone, in which he tried to give the impression that Washington approved the scheme, the time of meeting being changed. There was a full attendance, and deep solemnity pervaded the assembly, when the commander-in-chief stepped upon the platform to read an address which he had prepared for the occasion. As he put on his spectacles, he remarked: "You see, gentlemen, that I have not only grown *gray*, but *blind* in your service." This simple remark, under the circumstances, had a powerful effect upon the assemblage. When he had read his address, so compact in form and construction, so clear in expression and meaning, so dignified and patriotic, so mild yet so severe, and withal so vitally important in its relations to the well-being of the unfolding republic, the men before him and the army they represented, as well as the best interests of human freedom, he immediately retired and left the officers to discuss the matter unrestrained

by his presence. Their conference was brief; their deliberations, short. They passed resolutions by unanimous vote thanking their chief for the course he had pursued; expressing their unabated attachment to his person and their country; declaring their unshaken confidence in the good faith of Congress, and their determination to bear with patience their grievances until, in due time, they should be redressed. These proceedings were signed by General Gates as president of the meeting; and three days afterward Washington, in general orders, expressed his entire satisfaction. All the papers relating to this affair were forwarded to the Congress and entered at length in their journals; and very soon that body took action that satisfied the army of the wisdom of Washington's proceedings at Newburg. The author of the anonymous addresses was Major John Armstrong, one of General Gates' aids, who afterward held civil offices of distinction in our national government. He was Secretary of War during a portion of the conflict between the United States and Great Britain in 1812-'15. In a letter to Armstrong many years after the events above related, Washington expressed his belief that the motives of the major were patriotic.

Another question now became a serious one. When the ratification of the preliminary treaty of peace was made known, a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed, on the 19th of April, 1783, just eight years to a day since they began at Lexington. Then the soldiers who had enlisted "for the war" claimed the right to go home. Congress decided that the time of their enlistment would not expire until a definitive treaty of peace should be concluded. Much dissatisfaction was felt; but Washington soothed the feelings of the soldiers by allowing a very large portion of them to go home on long furloughs, during the summer of 1783. As the definitive treaty was concluded at the beginning of September, these men never returned to the army; and so was gradually and quietly disbanded a greater portion of the Continental Army in the field.

In April, 1783, a treaty was concluded between the United States and the king of Sweden; and in the same month the British government gave to David Hartley full powers to negotiate a definitive treaty with the American commissioners. It was concluded and signed at Paris on the 3d of September, 1783, by David Hartley on the part of Great Britain, and by Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay on the part of the United States. Then Franklin put on his suit of clothes which he had laid aside after receiving personal abuse before the British Privy Council, with a vow never to wear them again until America was independent and England humbled. Definitive treaties between Great Britain and France and Spain were signed on the same day; one between Great Britain and Holland was signed the

day before. That between the United States and Great Britain was unqualifiedly acknowledged by the king of Great Britain; the Mississippi River was made the western boundary, and Canada and Nova Scotia the northern and eastern boundaries of the territory of the new Republic; the navigation of the River St. Lawrence was abandoned to the English; the navigation of the Mississippi was made free to both parties; mutual rights to the Newfoundland fisheries were adjusted; no impediments were allowed in the way of the recovery of debts by *bona fide* creditors; certain measures of restitution of confiscated property to Loyalists were to be recommended by the Congress to the several States; and there was to be a general cessation of hostilities, withdrawal of troops, and a restoration of public and private property.

While waiting for the arrival of the definitive treaty, Washington made a tour, with Governor George Clinton, to the theatre of military operations in Northern New York. On his return to Newburgh, he found a letter from the President of Congress, asking his attendance upon that body, at Princeton. Leaving the army in charge of General Knox, he complied with their request, and for many weeks he was in conference with committees of that body concerning a peace establishment, etc. Meanwhile the Congress had voted to honor him with an equestrian statue to be placed at the seat of the national government; but that, like similar honors voted to others of the Continental Army, has never been executed.

In October, 1783, the Congress proclaimed the discharge of the soldiers enlisted for the war, and only a few who had been re-enlisted until a peace establishment should be arranged, now formed the remnant of the Continental Army. Soon after this proclamation, Washington put forth a farewell address to the army, which, with one sent to the governors of the several States, from Newburgh, in June, constitute admirable state papers.

The great drama of the war for independence was now drawing to its close. Sir Guy Carleton was ordered to evacuate the city of New York, the only place in our republic then occupied by British troops. He was delayed by waiting for vessels to convey refugee Loyalists to Nova Scotia, who were compelled by a law of their State to leave their country and their confiscated property. Finally, the 25th of November was the day fixed for the evacuation by Carleton. Washington repaired to West Point, where Knox had stationed the remnant of the Continental Army—the remnant of two hundred and thirty thousand regulars and fifty-six thousand militia who bore arms during the war. Of all that glorious band of patriots, not one now remains. The two latest survivors were William Hutchings of Maine and Lemuel Cook of New York, who both died in the month of May, 1866,

the former at the age of one hundred and one years and seven months, and the latter, one hundred and two years. The British had sent to subdue the American "rebels" one hundred and thirteen thousand troops for the land service, and more than twenty-two thousand seamen. Of the former, one of them (John Battin), died in the city of New York at the age of a little more than one hundred years.

Accompanied by Governor George Clinton and other civil officers, and escorted by a detachment of troops from West Point under General Knox, Washington, with his staff, appeared near the city of New York (at the site of the Cooper Institute), on the morning appointed for the evacuation—the city from which he and his troops had been compelled to fly more than seven years before. At one o'clock in the afternoon, when the British had withdrawn to the water's edge for embarkation, the Americans marched into the city, the General and Governor at their head, the civil officers and a cavalcade of citizens following, with the regular troops. In compliment to the governor and the civil authority the procession was escorted by Westchester Light Horsemen, the continental jurisdiction having ceased or was suspended. Before three o'clock General Knox had taken possession of Fort George, at the foot of Broadway, amid the acclamations of thousands of citizens and the roar of artillery; when Clinton formally re-established civil government there, and closed the important transactions of the day by a public dinner.

Before the British left Fort George, they nailed their colors to the top of the flag-staff, knocked off the cleats, and "slushed" the pole from top to bottom to prevent its being climbed. When Knox took possession of the fort, John Van Arsdale, a lively sailor boy sixteen years of age, climbed the flag-staff by nailing on the cleats, tore down the British flag, and in its place unfurled the American banner of Stars and Stripes. The British hoped to leave the harbor with their flag still floating over the spot they had occupied so long, but they did not. The last sail of the British fleet that bore away the army and the Loyalists, did not disappear beyond the Narrows, before the evening twilight.

The late Dr. Alexander Anderson, the pioneer wood-engraver in America, related to me the following amusing incident of that evacuation-day. He was then a boy between eight and nine years of age, having been born three days after the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord. He was living with his parents in Murray street, near the Hudson River, then sparsely settled. Opposite his father's dwelling was a boarding-house kept by a man named Day, whose wife was a large, stout woman and zealous Whig. On the morning of evacuation-day, she ran up the American flag

upon a pole in front of her house. The British claimed possession of the city until twelve o'clock at noon, and this act was offensive to them. Early in the forenoon, when young Anderson was on his father's stoop, he saw a burly red-faced British officer, in full uniform, coming down Murray street in great haste. Mrs.

Day was sweeping in front of her door when the officer came up to her in a blustering manner, and in loud and angry tones ordered her to haul down the flag. She refused, when the officer seized the halyards to pull it down himself. Mrs. Day flew at him with her broomstick, and beat him so furiously over his head, that she made the powder fly from his wig. The officer stormed and swore, and tugged in vain at the halyards, which were entangled; and Mrs. Day applied her weapon so vigorously that he was soon compelled to retreat, and leave the flag of



MRS. DAY AND THE PROVOST MARSHAL.

the valiant woman floating triumphantly in the keen morning breeze. The British officer was the infamous provost marshal of the army, William Cunningham, who, for seven years, had cruelly treated American prisoners under his charge in New York, and terribly oppressed some of the few Whig families who remained in that city. This inglorious attempt to capture the colors of Day Castle and the result, was the last fight between the British and Americans in the Old War for Independence.



CHAPTER LXXXVI.

Closing of the Drama on Both Sides of the Atlantic—Washington Parts with His Officers and Resigns His Commission—His Journey from New York to Mount Vernon—Society of the Cincinnati—Weakness of the New Government—The Opinions of British Statesmen—The Public Debt and Credit—The States Refuse to Vest Sovereign Powers in the Congress—Lord Sheffield's Pamphlet—John Adams as Minister in England—Insurrection in the United States—Desire for a Stronger Government Manifested—Hamilton's Early Efforts to that End—A National Convention—Franklin's Motion for Prayers—Formation and Adoption of a National Constitution—Signing it and Its Ratification—The Northwestern Territory—The New Government Put into Operation.

THE struggle of the English-American colonies for political independence ended in victory for the patriots. That independence was finally assured when, on the 5th of December, 1783, the king of England said in a speech from the throne: "I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinions of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire, and that America may be free from those calamities which have formerly proved, in the mother country, how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interests, affections may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries; to this end neither attention or disposition shall be wanting on my part."

With that speech the king closed, in Great Britain, the impressive drama which opened at Lexington in 1775, and exhibited its most glorious act in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. With another act, dissimilar but quite as interesting, it had closed in America the day before. The Continental Army had been disbanded and every hostile British soldier had left our shores, when Washington, on the 4th of December (1783), called around him his officers who were near and bade them farewell. That event occurred in the great public-room of the tavern of Samuel Fraunce, at the corner of Broadway and Pearl streets, in the city of New York. The scene is described as one of great tenderness. The officers were assembled in the

room, when Washington entered and taking a glass of wine in his hand said: "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having tasted the wine, he continued: "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you if each will come and take me by the hand." General



WASHINGTON TAKING LEAVE OF HIS OFFICERS.

Knox, who stood nearest to the commander-in-chief, turned and grasped his hand, and, while the tears flowed down the cheeks of each, Washington kissed his beloved companion in arms on the forehead. This he did to each of his officers. With these parting tokens of affection Washington left the room, and passing through a corps of light infantry, he walked to White Hall (now the Staten Island Ferry) followed by a vast procession, and at two

o'clock in the afternoon entered a barge to be conveyed to Paulus's Hook, now Jersey City, on his departure for Annapolis, where the Continental Congress was then in session. The last survivor of the participants in that parting scene was Major Robert Burnet of Orange County, New York, who lived until 1854. From his lips I received the account. It was an old story related long before by the historian, but it seemed fresh as it came from the lips of an eye-witness.

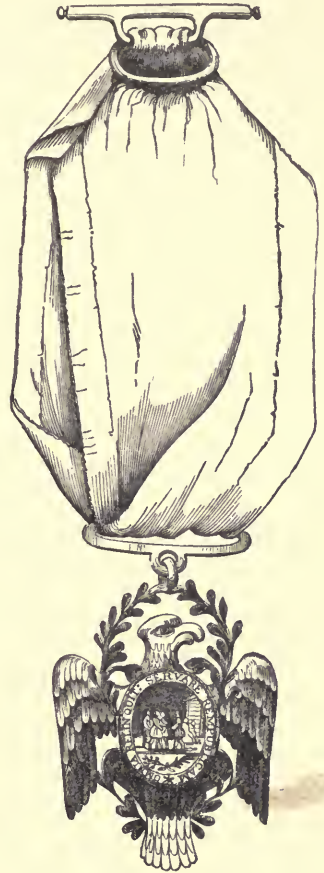
Washington proceeded to Philadelphia, where he delivered his public accounts into the hands of the proper officer, and with his wife rode to Annapolis, the capital of Maryland. The Continental Congress was then in session in the State-House there. At noon on the 23d of December, the patriot entered the Senate Chamber (the hall in which the Congress sat) according to previous arrangement, and was led to a chair by Charles Thompson, the Secretary. The President of Congress, General Mifflin, then rose and informed the General that "The United States, in Congress assembled, were prepared to receive his communications." Washington arose, and, with great dignity and much feeling, delivered a brief speech, and then handed to Mifflin the commission which he had received from that body in June, 1775. Mifflin received it, and made an eloquent reply. He closed by saying: "We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you, we address to Him our earnest prayers that a life so beloved may be fostered with all His care; that your days may be as happy as they have been illustrious; and that He will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

Washington and his wife set out from Annapolis for Mount Vernon, on the day before Christmas, and arrived home that evening, where they were greeted with great joy by the family and flocks of colored servants. They were accompanied a short distance by the governor of Maryland and his suite, on horseback. All the way from New York to Annapolis and thence to Mount Vernon, Washington's journey was a triumphal march. He was escorted from place to place by cavalcades of citizens and volunteer military corps, and was everywhere greeted with the most emphatic demonstrations of love and respect. For more than eight years he had served his country faithfully and efficiently. Now that its independence was secured, he crowned the glory of his patriotic devotion by resigning into the hands of his country's representatives the instrument of his power; and as a plain, untitled citizen, he sat down in peace in the midst of his family, on the banks of the Potomac.

A few months before the disbanding of the army a tie of friendship had been formed among the officers, at the suggestion of General Knox, by the organization at the cantonment of the troops, near Newburgh, New York, of an association known as *The Society of the Cincinnati*. Its chief objects were to promote a cordial friendship and indissoluble union among themselves, and to extend benevolent aid to such of its members as might need assistance. Washington was made its President-General, and remained so until his death. General Knox was its Secretary-General. To perpetuate the association, it was provided in the constitution of the society, that the eldest masculine descendant of an original member should be entitled to wear the Order and enjoy the privileges of the society. That society is yet in existence. The *Order* or badge consists of a gold eagle, suspended upon a ribbon, on the breast of which is a medallion with a device, representing Cincinnatus receiving the Roman Senator.

The Americans were now *free* but not *independent*. Why not? Because they had not established a nation endowed with the functions of absolute sovereignty. The British statesmen were wise enough to see this, and sagacious enough to take advantage of the situation. They saw that the Americans were without a government sufficiently powerful to command the fulfillment of treaty stipulations, or an untrammelled commerce sufficiently important to attract the cupidity or interested sympathies of other nations. John Adams was received with courtesy as the ambassador of an independent nation at the court of St. James, and King George had said to him: "I was the last man in the kingdom, Sir, to consent to the independence of America; but now it is granted, I will be the last man in the world to sanction a violation of it."

These courtesies and fair words were only the velvet that covered the mailed hand of power. The British ministry, misled by the Loyalists that



ORDER OF THE CINCINNATI.

swarmed in the metropolis, believed that the weak confederacy would soon crumble, and that each part would be suing for restoration to the privileges of subjects to the crown. It was prepared to seize with merciless grasp the inchoate nation and destroy its sovereignty. The trade, commerce, manufactures, arts, literature, science, religion and laws were yet largely subservient to the parent country, without a well-grounded hope for speedy deliverance from the thrall. These facts gave Dr. Franklin good reason for saying to a compatriot who remarked that the war for independence was successfully closed: "Say, rather, the war of the *Revolution*. The war for *Independence* is yet to be fought." That struggle occurred, and that independence was won by the Americans in the war of 1812.

We have already observed that wise men deplored the weakness of the government under the Articles of Confederation ratified in 1781. The powers of that government were soon tested by its efforts to employ the functions of sovereignty. A debt of \$70,000,000 lay upon the shoulders of a wasted people, besides the promises of the dead "Continental money" to pay more than \$200,000,000 more. About \$44,000,000 of this live debt was owing by the general government, \$10,000,000 in Europe, and the remainder by the individual States. The debt had been contracted in carrying on the war, which, for a long time, was sustained only by money borrowed for the purpose. By this means the public credit had sunk very low. The restoration of that credit or the downfall of the infant republic was the alternative presented to the Americans at the close of the war.

With a determination to restore the public credit, the General Congress put forth all their strength, which was only absolute weakness. They asked the several States to vest that body with power to levy, for the term of twenty-five years, duties on certain imported articles, the revenue therefrom to be appropriated to the sole purpose of paying the interest and principal of the public debt. It was also proposed that the States should establish, for the same time and for the same object, substantial revenues for supplying each its proportion of \$1,500,000 annually, exclusive of duties on imports. This financial system, which was approved by the leading men of the country, was not to go into effect without the consent of *every* State in the league. For three years the proposition was before the people. All the States but two were willing to raise the required amount; but they would not consent to vest the Congress with the asked-for power. "It is *money*, not *power*," they said, "that ought to be the object. The former will pay our *debts*, the latter may destroy our *liberties*." So ended in failure the first important effort of the general government to assume the functions of sovereignty. It was the beginning of a series of failures, and was mis-

chievous because it excited the jealousy of the respective States. It also exposed the impotency of a so-called national government, whose very vitality, as well as the right to exercise governing functions, depended upon the will of thirteen distinct legislative bodies, each tenacious of its own peculiar rights and interests, and miserly in its delegation of power. It was perceived that the public credit must inevitably be destroyed by a repudiation of the public debt.

The League were equally unfortunate in their attempts to establish commercial relations with other governments, especially with Great Britain. The British ministry in power when the treaty of peace was ratified were disposed to make liberal commercial arrangements with the Americans, and our commerce began to revive. William Pitt, son of the Earl of Chatham, and then, at the age of twenty-four years, Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed a plan by which the British West India Islands and other possessions of the crown, should be thrown open to American commerce. Such a measure would have secured a lasting peace between the two countries. But the unwisdom of British statesmen could not discern it. The shipping interest, then potential in Parliament, opposed it, and the wiser ministry did not survive the proposition a month. The new ministry, listening to the suggestions of bitter American Loyalists in England, assumed a haughty tone toward the Americans, treating them as vassals, and inaugurating a restrictive commercial policy which indicated that they regarded the States of the League as only alienated members of the British realm. Lord Sheffield, in a pamphlet that was widely circulated, declared his belief that utter ruin must soon overtake the League because of the anarchy into which their independence had thrown them. He saw the utter weakness of their form of government, and advised his countrymen to consider them of little account as a *nation*. "If the American States choose to send consuls," he said, "receive them and send a consul to each State. Each State will soon enter into all necessary regulations with the consul, and this is the whole that is necessary." In other words, the United States have no dignity above that of a fifth-rate power; and the States are still, in fact, only dismembered fragments of the British empire.

Impelled by this unfriendly conduct of Great Britain, the Congress, in the spring of 1784, asked the several States to delegate powers to them for fifteen years, by which they might, by countervailing measures, compel the British to be more liberal. The appeal was in vain. The States growing more and more jealous of their own dignity, refused to vest any such powers in the Congress; nor would they make any permanent or uniform arrangement among themselves. Without public credit; their commerce at the

mercy of every adventurer; without respect at home or abroad, the League exhibited the sad spectacle of the elements of a great nation paralyzed in the formative process. Then came a threatened open rupture with Great Britain on account of the inexecution of the Treaty of Peace, when John Adams was sent to England early in 1765, clothed with the full powers of plenipotentiary, to arrange all matters in dispute. But he could accomplish little. He was courteously received, as we have observed, but was coldly treated afterward. The representative of a weak government, he was compelled to bite his lip in silence; and he asked and obtained leave to return home.

Meanwhile matters were becoming infinitely worse in the United States. The League appeared to be on the verge of dissolution. The idea of forming two or three distinct confederacies took possession of the public mind. The people of Western North Carolina revolted and a new State called Frankland, formed by the insurgents, lasted several months. A portion of Southwestern Virginia sympathized in the movement. Insurrections against the authorities of Pennsylvania appeared in the Wyoming Valley. A convention at Portland discussed the propriety of making the Territory of Maine an independent State. An armed mob surrounded the New Hampshire Legislature and demanded a remission of taxes. In Massachusetts, Captain Daniel Shays led a formidable insurrection, which caused the calling out of several thousand militia under General Lincoln to suppress it. There was resistance to taxation everywhere. It was caused by the hard necessities of the people. Debt weighed down all classes; and the burden of the tax-gatherer was often the "feather that would break the camel's back."

Wise and patriotic men now saw clearly that the chief cause of all the trouble was the inherent weakness of the general government. Sagacious men like young Hamilton had perceived it long before. So early as 1780, when he was only twenty-three years of age, Hamilton seems to have formed well-defined, profound and comprehensive opinions on the situation and wants of the States. In a long letter to James Duane, in Congress, dated "At the Liberty-Pole," September 3d, he gave an outline sketch of a national constitution, and suggested the calling of a convention to frame such a system of government. During the following year he published in the *New York Packet*, then printed at Fishkill, in Dutchess County, New York, a series of papers under the title of *The Constitutionalist*, which were devoted chiefly to the discussion of the defects in the *Articles of Confederation*. They excited much local attention. In the summer of 1782, as we have observed, he succeeded in having the subject brought before the Legislature of New York, then in session at Poughkeepsie. It was favorably

received; and on Sunday, the 21st of July, that body, by resolution, drawn by Hamilton and presented by General Schuyler, his father-in-law, recommended the "assembling of a convention of the United States, specially authorized to revise and amend the Confederation, reserving the right to the respective legislatures to ratify their determination." In the spring of 1783, Hamilton, in Congress, expressed an earnest desire for a convention



GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

charged with that high duty. In the same year, Thomas Paine and Pelatiah Webster wrote on the subject; and in the spring of 1784, Noah Webster, the author of the Dictionary, published a pamphlet on the great topic, which he took pains to carry in person to General Washington. In that pamphlet he suggested a "new system of government which should act, *not on the States but directly on individuals*, and vest in Congress full power to carry its laws into effect." In the autumn of 1785, Washington, in a letter to James Warren, deplored the weakness of the government and the "illiberality, jealousy, and local policy of the States" that was likely to sink the new nation, "in the eyes of Europe, into contempt."

Grave discussions on the subject were held in the Library at Mount Vernon, where Washington, acting upon the suggestion of Hamilton five years before, proposed a convention of the several States to agree upon a plan for unity in a commercial arrangement over which, by the constitution, the Congress had no control. That suggestion beamed out upon the surrounding darkness like a ray of morning light, and was the herald and harbinger of future important action. Coming from such an exalted source, the suggestion was heeded. A convention of the States was called at Annapolis, in Maryland. Only five States (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia) sent deputies. These met on the 11th of September, 1786. There being only a minority of the States represented, action was postponed, and they adjourned after adopting the form of a recommendation for the several States to send deputies to a convention to meet in Philadelphia in May following. A report of their proceedings was sent to the Congress, and that body, in February, 1787, passed a resolution strongly urging the legislatures of the several States to send deputies to meet in the proposed convention for "the sole and express purpose of revising the *Articles of Confederation*, and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as should, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the government and the preservation of the Union." Delegates were appointed by all the States excepting Rhode Island. While there was a general feeling that *something* must be done for the preservation of the Union, great caution was manifested in the delegation of powers to those who were to represent the States in the proposed convention.

In May, 1787, delegates from several States assembled in convention in Independence Hall in the State-House at Philadelphia. George Washington, a delegate from Virginia, was chosen to preside over their deliberations, and William Jackson, one of Washington's most intimate personal friends, was appointed secretary. It was the 25th of May before there were delegates enough from the requisite number of States to form a quorum. The business of the convention was opened by Edmund Randolph of Virginia, who, at the request of his colleagues, made a carefully prepared speech, in which he pointed out the serious defects in the *Articles of Confederation*, illustrated their utter inadequacy to secure the dignity, peace, and safety of the republic, and asserted the absolute necessity of a more energetic government. At the close of his speech he offered to the convention fifteen resolutions, in which were embodied the leading principles whereon to construct a new form of government. The chief business of the convention was

suggested by his proposition, "that a *national* government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary."

Upon this broad foundation all future action of the convention was based. The members had scarcely a precedent in history for their guide. The great political maxim established by the Revolution was, *the original residence of all human sovereignty is in the people*. It was left for the founders of the republic to parcel out from the several Commonwealths of which the new nation was composed, so much of their restricted power as the people of the several States should be willing to dismiss from their local political institutions, in making a strong and harmonious government that should be, at the same time, harmless toward reserved State rights. This was the difficult problem to be solved. "At that time," says Mr. Curtis in his History of the Constitution, "the world had witnessed no such spectacle as that of the deputies of a nation, chosen by the free action of great communities, and assembled for the purpose of thoroughly reforming its Constitution, by the exercise and with the authority of the national will. All that had been done, both in ancient and modern times, in forming, moulding or modifying constitutions of government, bore little resemblance to the present undertaking of the States of America. Neither among the Greeks nor the Romans was there a precedent, and scarce an analogy."

The Convention had not proceeded far when it was discovered that the *Articles of Confederation* were too radically defective to afford a basis for a stable government, and therefore, instead of trying to amend them, they went diligently at work to form a new constitution. Slow progress was made, for opinions were very conflicting. At length, when it appeared probable that the result would be a failure to agree upon anything, the venerable Dr. Franklin, then eighty-two years of age, arose in his place and said: "How has it happened, Sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understandings? In the beginning of the contest with Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers in this room for the divine protection. Our prayers, Sir, were heard; and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten this powerful Friend? or do we imagine we no longer need His assistance? I have lived, Sir, a long time; and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that *God governs in the affairs of men*." At the conclusion of his remarks Franklin moved: "That henceforth prayers, imploring the

assistance of Heaven and its blessings on our deliberations, be held in this Assembly every morning before we proceed to business; and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in this service." Upon a memorandum of this motion, Franklin wrote: "The convention, except three or four persons, thought prayers unnecessary!"

For many weeks the debates went on, sometimes with courtesy and at others with great acrimony, until the 10th of September (1787), when all



GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

GENERAL MIFFLIN.

GEORGE CLINTON.

plans and amendments adopted by the Convention were placed in the hands of a committee for revision and arrangement. That committee, composed of Messrs. Madison, Hamilton, King, Johnson, and Gouverneur Morris, chose the latter to put the document into proper literary form. On the 17th, after the plan reported by the committee had been discussed clause by clause, slightly amended and adopted, and it had been neatly engrossed on

parchment, it was spread before the members for their signatures. In the performance of that act there was some hesitation. A large majority of the delegates wished it to go forth to the people, not only as the act of the Convention, but of the individual members. Some who could not agree to it in all its parts, objected to giving their sanction to the whole, by appending their signatures; but the patriotic action of Hamilton, caused several who held back, to sign the instrument. He desired a much stronger national government than the Constitution would establish, but said: "No man's ideas are more remote from the plan than my own; but is it possible to deliberate between anarchy and confusion on one side, and the chance of good on the other?" His appeals, and those of Franklin, caused every member present to sign, excepting Mason and Randolph of Virginia and Gerry of Massachusetts. Then Franklin, pointing to the chair occupied by Washington, the President of the Convention, at the back of which a Sun was painted, said: "I have often and often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that Sun behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising sun."

The Convention ordered their proceedings to be laid before the Congress, and by a carefully-worded resolution recommended that body to submit the new Constitution to the people (not the States), and ask them, the *source of all sovereignty*, to ratify or reject it. The Congress did so. Conventions of the people were accordingly held in the several States, to consider the instrument. It was violently assailed in these conventions and through the medium of the press, by those who regarded allegiance to a State as paramount to that to the national government; while powerful essays in its favor were written by Hamilton, Madison and Jay, under the title of *The Federalist*. These had a most salutary effect upon the public mind, and were very influential in producing the happy result obtained. Long and able debates upon the subject were had in the conventions; and at public gatherings and at every fireside it was a topic for discussion and earnest conversation. Slowly the people deliberated; and it was nine months after the Constitution was adopted by the Convention before it was ratified by nine States, that number being necessary to make it the organic law of the land. The following are the names of the delegates who signed the Constitution, and the order of their signatures: George Washington, of *Virginia*, President; John Langdon and Nicholas Gilman, of *New Hampshire*; Nathaniel Gorham and Rufus King, of *Massachusetts*; Wm. Samuel Johnson and Roger Sherman, of *Connecticut*; Alexander Hamilton, of *New York*; William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson and Jona-

than Dayton, of *New Jersey*; Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, of *Pennsylvania*; George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett and Jacob Brown, of *Delaware*; James McHenry, Daniel-of-St.-Thomas Jenifer and Daniel Carroll, of *Maryland*; John Blair and James Madison, of *Virginia*; William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson, of *North Carolina*; John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney and Pierce Butler, of *South Carolina*; and William Few and Abraham Baldwin, of *Georgia*.



EMIGRANTS ON THE OHIO RIVER.

While the national Convention was in session at Philadelphia, the Continental Congress, feeble and dying, were sitting at New York, with only eight States represented; but they performed a very important work at midsummer. By treaties with the principal Indian tribes between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes, the aboriginal titles to seventeen million acres of land in that region had been extinguished. This act, with that of the cession of Virginia to the United States of all its claims to lands in that region, put the general government in actual possession of a vast country out of which several flourishing States have been formed. The Congress,

by unanimous vote on the 13th of July, 1787, adopted an "Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio." It provided, among other things, that there should be "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory otherwise than in the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." The existence of these conditions in the "Northwestern Territory," as the country was now called, created a mighty stream of emigration to flow down the western slopes of the Alleghany Mountains into the Ohio Valley. The first settlement founded there by Europeans (excepting by Moravian missionaries) was seated by General Rufus Putnam and others, at the mouth of the Muskingum River, which he named Marietta, in honor of Marie Antoinette, then queen of Louis the Sixteenth of France. Other immigrants followed; and it has been estimated that during the years 1788 and 1789, full twenty thousand men, women, and children went down the Ohio in boats to settle near its banks. Since then, how wonderful has been the growth of the empire beyond the Alleghany Mountains.

On the 21st of June, 1788, the New Hampshire convention ratified the new Constitution. This completed the sanction of the number of States necessary to make it the organic law of the country. Delaware ratified it on the 7th of December, 1787; Pennsylvania on the 12th, and New Jersey on the 18th of the same month; Georgia on the 2d, and Connecticut on the 9th of January, 1788; Massachusetts on the 6th of February; Maryland on the 28th of April; South Carolina on the 23d of May, and New Hampshire, as we have observed, on the 21st of June, 1788. On the 26th of the same month, Virginia ratified it; New York on the 26th of July, and North Carolina on the 21st of November. Rhode Island held back until the 29th of May, 1789, after the new government had gone into operation. By these acts of ratification, the inhabitants of our country emphatically declared, in the language of the Preamble to the National Constitution: "*We, the People of the United States*, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." In accordance with the provisions of that Constitution, the people of the States wherein it had been ratified chose Presidential electors. These formed the first Electoral College, and on the first Wednesday in February, 1789, they chose George Washington, President, and John Adams, Vice-President of the United States. On the 4th of March following, the first Congress under the new order of things began their first session, when the Continental Congress—the representative of the League—officially expired.

The history of the old Continental Congress is a remarkable one. At first it was a spontaneous gathering of patriotic representatives of thirteen colonies that stretched a thousand miles along the western shores of the Atlantic, who met to act for the common good. With unexampled boldness and faith, they snatched the sceptre of rule from their oppressing sovereign, and assuming imperial functions, created armies, issued bills of credit, declared the provinces to be independent States, made treaties with foreign nations, founded an empire, and compelled their king to acknowledge the States which they represented, to be independent of the British crown. The career of that Congress astonished the world with the brilliancy of the events achieved. A mightier and more stable power took the place of this conqueror, and immediately arrested the profound attention of the civilized nations. It was seen that its commerce, diplomacy, and dignity were no longer exposed to neglect by thirteen clashing legislative bodies, but were guarded and controlled by a central power of wonderful energy. Great Britain no longer thought of sending hither consuls, alone, to represent her, but placed a minister plenipotentiary near the republican court. Other European governments sent hither dignified diplomatic agents. We no longer exhibited the weakness of a *League of States*, but the power of a *Nation*. The prophecy of Bishop Berkeley was on the eve of fulfillment:

“Westward the course of Empire takes its way.”



FRANKLIN

HAMILTON

WASHINGTON

JEFFERSON

JONES

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

The People and the Constitution—Washington Informed of His Election—Visits His Mother—His Journey to New York—Reception at Philadelphia, Trenton, and New York—Inauguration of Washington—Official Etiquette—The Policy of Titles Discussed—Mrs. Washington—The First Work of Congress—A Temporary Revenue System and Its Effects—Executive Departments Established—A National Judiciary—Amendments to the Constitution—Seat of the National Government Considered—Cabinet Officers Chosen.



WHEN the national government of the United States was established under the new Constitution, the total population of the republic, exclusive of the Indians, was 3,929,827. Of this number, 757,365 persons were of African descent, 697,879 being born slaves. The number of Indians then on our domain, is unknown.

The dominant Caucasian race in our land, about three millions and a quarter in number, had, through long years of political discussion and actual war, been trained to the endurance of personal hardships, the assertion of individual rights, and the maintenance of the political and social franchises incident to the exercise of local self-gov-

ernment. They had been educated for free citizenship in a school of independent thinkers, and by constant attrition had formed habits of self-reliance, mental and physical. The judgment of this people was brought to bear upon the new Constitution before and after its ratification; and when a majority had declared it to be the supreme law of the land, the minority patriotically acquiesced in the momentous decision, not however without most decided manifestations of disapproval at first, especially by the more excitable part of the population.

When, early in the summer of 1788, the ratification of the Constitution was assured, its friends, in some places, prepared to mingle demonstrations of joy on that account with the usual methods of celebrating the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. This was attempted, on the 4th of July, in Providence, R. I., when a thousand men, led by a judge of the supreme court, came in from the country and compelled the citizens to strike from their programme all allusion to the Constitution. In Albany both parties celebrated "Independence day" together, but after dinner the friends of the Constitution formed a procession that was escorted by several military companies. The opposite party interfered with them, and a sharp fight ensued, in which stones and clubs, swords and bayonets, were used, and a few persons were seriously wounded. There were also some riotous demonstrations in New York, after the great "Federal procession," in which, as in Philadelphia, many industries were practically exhibited as the line moved through the streets—mechanics of all kinds with tools at work and banners flying—followed by a great banquet and illuminations. But there were temporary ebullitions of feeling that suddenly assumed the features of a mob spirit.

When, in the spring of 1789, the new government went into operation in the City of New York, after the inauguration of Washington as the first President of the republic, there was a general readiness manifested by thinking men of all creeds in politics and religion to try the "experiment," as the new order of things was deemed to be, fairly and fully. They saw clearly that it was a momentous experiment to attempt, without a precedent, to adjust the machinery of a government, political and social, that was the embodiment of the ideas of local self-rule and of national union, so as to secure perfect harmony, and to avoid all friction. They saw that it required the highest type of statesmanship to accomplish that delicate and difficult task; therefore, in the elections of their executive and legislative representatives, the people put forth their honest efforts to secure the best men for the respective offices. So judicious was their choice, that when Washington stood before their representatives face to face, in the old Federal Hall in

New York, to deliver his inaugural address, he was constrained to say that in them he saw the surest pledges that the foundations of "the national policy would be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world." He continued: "I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love of my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public propriety and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people."

Washington was making the usual tour of his fields on the 14th of March, 1789, when Charles Thomson, the Secretary of the Continental Congress, arrived at Mount Vernon with a letter from John Langdon, the *pro-tempore* president of the United States Senate, announcing the election of the illustrious farmer to the Presidency of the republic. Washington accepted the office, and made immediate preparations for the journey to the seat of government. Toward evening, accompanied by his favorite body-servant, Billy, he left Mount Vernon and rode rapidly toward Fredericksburg, to visit his mother, then past eighty years of age and suffering from an incurable disease. The interview was a touching one. When he was about to leave, the son promised the mother, that so soon as public business would allow, he would hasten to Virginia to see her. "You will see me no more," said the aged matron; "my great age and the disease which is rapidly approaching my vitals, warn me that I shall not be long in this world." The dutiful son stooped and kissed her, as she sat in her arm-chair, when she took his brawny hands in her attenuated ones and said: "Go, George; fulfill the high destinies which Heaven appears to assign to you; go, my son, and may that Heaven's and your mother's blessing be with you always." They never met again on the earth. When Washington returned to Virginia, his mother's body was in the grave. She died in August, 1789, at the age of eighty-two years.

On the morning of the 6th of April, Washington left Mount Vernon for New York, accompanied by Mr. Thomson and Colonel Humphreys. He

was met at his porter's lodge by a cavalcade of his neighbors and friends, who escorted him to Alexandria, where he partook of a public dinner. Everywhere on his journey he was greeted by demonstrations of the most profound respect and reverence. At Georgetown he was received with honors, and at Baltimore he was feasted. At Gray's Ferry on the Schuyl-



WASHINGTON PARTING WITH HIS MOTHER.

kill, near Philadelphia, a triumphal arch had been erected and covered with laurel branches. As Washington passed through it, Angelica Peale, a daughter of the artist, Charles Wilson Peale—a child of rare beauty, concealed among the foliage—let down an ornamented civic crown of laurel which rested on the head of the Patriot. This incident drew from the multitude loud huzzas, and shouts of “Long live George Washington! long live the Father of his Country!” filled the air. When he crossed the Dela-

were at Trenton, the scene of one of his earliest victories in the war for independence, he was led through a triumphal arch erected upon a bridge that spanned a small stream over which he had retreated before Cornwallis more than twenty years before. The arch was supported by thirteen pillars trimmed with evergreens and flowers. It had been erected and adorned by the women of New Jersey, and bore the words: "*The Defender of the Mothers, will be the Protector of the Daughters.*" Many mothers, with their daughters, appeared on each side of the structure, all dressed in white. As the President-elect passed through, thirteen young girls in white dresses, their heads adorned with flowers, and holding baskets of flowers in their hands, scattered some of them in his way, while they sang an ode of welcome.

At Elizabethtown Point, Washington was met by a committee from each house of Congress, and civil and military officers. They had prepared a magnificent barge for his reception, manned by thirteen pilots in white uniforms. In this the President-elect was conveyed to New York. The shipping in New York harbor was decorated with flags, and the waters swarmed with gaily-dressed small boats filled with ladies and gentlemen. There was an exception to the general display of honors. The Spanish ship-of-war *Galveston*, lying not far from the present Castle Garden, was not decorated, and was silent. This neglect—this seeming churlishness—was so marked, that it called forth severe comments, when suddenly, as the barge came abreast of her, she displayed, as if by magic, the flags of all nations, and fired a salute of thirteen guns. These were answered by guns from the battery on the shore; and in the midst of the roar of artillery and the shouts of a vast multitude of citizens, the Beloved Patriot landed at Whitehall and was conducted to a house prepared for his residence on Franklin Square. Such was the reception of the first President-elect, at the seat of the new national government. There was general joy and good feeling, but satire and caricature appeared like ravens among beves of white doves. Political parties were already beginning to take distinct shape. The friends of the Constitution, represented by Washington, were called *Federalists*, and those opposed to it were called *Anti-Federalists*. On the day after Washington's arrival a caricature appeared—silly enough, but charged with bitter feeling—in which the President was seen mounted on an ass, in the arms of Billy, Colonel David Humphreys leading the Jack and chanting hosannahs and birthday odes. The picture was full of disloyal and profane allusions. The Devil appeared prominent, and from his mouth issued the words:

"The glorious time has come to pass,
When David shall conduct an ass."

On the 30th of April Washington was inaugurated President of the republic. The ceremony took place in the open gallery of the old City Hall (afterward called Federal Hall), on the site of the present Custom-House, in the presence of a vast multitude. Washington was dressed in a suit of dark brown cloth and white silk stockings, all of American manufacture. His hair was powdered and dressed in the fashion of the day, clubbed and ribboned. The oath of office was administered by Robert R. Livingston, then chancellor of the State of New York. The open Bible (then and now the property of St. John's Lodge of Freemasons of the City of New York), on which the President laid his hand, was held on a rich crimson velvet cushion by Mr. Otis, Secretary of the Senate. Near them were John Adams, who had been chosen Vice-President; George Clinton, Governor of New York; Philip Schuyler, John Jay, General Knox, Ebenezer Hazard, Samuel Osgood and other distinguished men. After taking the oath and kissing the sacred book reverently, Washington closed his eyes and in an attitude of devotion said: "So help me God!" The Chancellor exclaimed, "It is done!" and then turning to the people he shouted, "Long live George Washington, the first President of the United States." That shout was echoed and re-echoed by the multitude, when the President and the members of Congress retired to the Senate Chamber, where Washington pronounced a most impressive inaugural address. At the conclusion, he and the members went in procession to St. Paul's Church (which, with the other churches, had been opened for prayers at nine o'clock that morning), and there they invoked the blessing of Almighty God upon the new government. The first person who grasped Washington's hand in congratulation, after the ceremony, was Richard Henry Lee, his friend from childhood, to whom he had written when they were boys nine years of age—"I am going to get a whip-top soon, and you may see it and whip it." How many human whip-tops had these staunch patriots managed since they wrote their childish epistles!

The new government entered upon its duties under the keen scrutiny of a jealous opposition, and an ever-watchful democracy which regarded with alarm every aspect of aristocracy to be found in the new order of things. Even the saluting of Mrs. Washington with cannon-peals on her arrival in New York a month after her husband's inauguration, and the escorting her to the President's house by military, was commented upon as "opening monarchical ceremonies." These suspicions were manifested, in a large degree, in the Congress, where the propriety of bestowing dignified titles upon the President and Vice-President was discussed. Warm debates were had. "Will not the people say," exclaimed a member from South Carolina, "that they have been deceived by the Convention that framed the Constitution,

and that it has been continued with a view to lead them on by degrees to that kind of government which they have thrown off with abhorrence? Does the dignity of a nation consist in the distance between the first magistrate and the citizens! in the exaltation of one man and the humiliation of the rest?" No positive conclusion was arrived at. The House of Representatives had already addressed Washington simply as "President of the United States;" but before long it became common to prefix the words "His Excellency," which has been done ever since. It was known that Washington had no special desire for a title; but the Vice-President was decidedly in favor of marks of distinction, and had adopted in his equipage and manner a style that offended many of the members of Congress.

Washington was anxious to so regulate his intercourse with the public at large, that he might secure dignity for the office and order for his own comfort and the public good. Wishing to give his time to public affairs, he resolved at the outset not to return any visits. To prevent being overrun with mere callers, he appointed the hour between three and four o'clock each Tuesday for the reception of gentlemen. He met ladies at the receptions given by Mrs. Washington, who also had stated times for the ceremony. At receptions by the latter, in which the company consisted only of persons connected with the government and their families, foreign ministers and their families, and persons moving in the best circles of refined society, all were expected to appear in full dress. On these occasions Washington generally stood by the side of his wife, dressed in a plain suit of brown cloth with bright buttons, without hat or dress-sword. At his own *levees* he wore a suit of black velvet, black silk stockings, silver knee and shoe buckles, and yellow gloves. He held in his hand a cocked-hat with a black cockade. His hat was trimmed with a feather around the edge about one inch deep. He also wore an elegant dress-sword upon his hip in such a manner that only the point of the scabbard might be seen below the skirt of his coat. As visitors came in, they were introduced to him by Colonel Humphreys, who was master of ceremonies, when they were arranged in a circle around the room. At a quarter-past three o'clock the door was closed, when the company for the day was completed. The President then began on the right, and spoke to each visitor, calling him by name, and addressing a few words to him. When he had completed the circuit, he resumed his first position, when the visitors approached him, bowed and retired. By four o'clock this ceremony was over.

This "court-life" was very distasteful to Mrs. Washington. She wrote to a friend: "I live a very dull life here, and know nothing that passes in the town. I never go to any public place—indeed I think I am more like a

state-prisoner than anything else. There are certain bounds set for me which I must not depart from; and as I cannot do as I like, I am obstinate and stay at home a great deal." She was a careful, bustling, industrious little housewife, more fond of her home than promiscuous society, and a noble exemplar for American women. "Let us repair to the old lady's



DOMESTIC LIFE AT MOUNT VERNON.

room," wrote the wife of a revolutionary officer from Mount Vernon, just after Washington retired from the Presidency. "It is nicely fixed for all sorts of work. On one side sits the chambermaid, with her knitting; on the other, a little colored pet learning to sew. An old, decent woman is there, with her table and shears, cutting out the negroes' winter-clothing, while the good old lady directs them all, incessantly knitting herself. She points out to me several pair of nice colored stockings and gloves she had just

finished, and presents me with a pair, half done, which she begs me to finish and wear for her sake. It is wonderful, after a life spent as these good people have necessarily spent theirs, to see them in retirement assume those domestic habits that prevail in our country."

Even before the inauguration of the President, Congress began in earnest the great work of putting the machinery of the new government into harmonious and vigorous action. The first and most important duties to which they were called were the devising of a revenue system—for the public treasury was empty—and establishing a national judiciary as a co-ordinate branch of the national government. Two days after the votes of the Presidential electors were counted, Mr. Madison, to whom the leadership in the House of Representatives was conceded, brought forward a plan for a temporary system of imports, to be based upon one proposed by the Continental Congress. He was decidedly favorable to free trade; but the wants of the public treasury and the impossibility to obtain reciprocal action on the part of other governments, made him consent to and propose a tariff upon spirituous liquors, wines, tea, coffee, sugar, molasses and pepper, as subjects for special duties; also an *ad valorem* duty upon all other articles imported, and a tonnage duty upon all vessels, with a discrimination in favor of vessels owned wholly in the United States, and an additional discrimination between foreign vessels, favorable to those belonging to countries having commercial treaties with the United States. The debates that arose on these propositions took a scope so wide and general that nearly every principle of tariff regulations, which have occupied the attention of our national legislature since, was fully discussed. It was finally agreed to lay duties upon certain specified articles that were imported into the United States until the year 1796; also to impose higher duties on foreign than on American bottoms; and goods imported in vessels belonging to citizens of the United States were to pay ten per cent. less duty than the same goods brought in those owned by foreigners. These discriminating duties were intended to counteract the commercial regulations of foreign nations, and especially those of Great Britain, and encourage American shipping.

These discussions and measures startled the powerful and selfish shipping interest of Great Britain, which had persistently opposed fair commercial relations with the Americans during the existence of the old Confederation. British merchants and British statesmen now perceived that American commerce was no longer regulated by thirteen separate legislatures representing clashing interests, nor subject to the control of the king and council, but that its interests were guarded by a central power of great energy. The British government hastened to secure commercial advantages, and it be-

came a supplicant instead of a haughty master. Soon after the passage of the revenue laws, a committee of Parliament proposed to ask the United States to consent to an arrangement precisely like the one proposed by Mr. Adams in 1785, but then rejected with scorn by the British ministry. The proposition was made to our government, and was met by generous courtesy on the part of the United States; but it was not until 1816, when the second war for independence—the war of 1812-'15—had been some time closed, that reciprocity treaties fairly regulated the commerce between the two countries.

Soon after the inauguration of Washington, the House having made provisions for raising a revenue, turned their attention to a reorganization of the Executive Departments. Those of the old Congress were still in operation, and were filled by the incumbents appointed by that body. The Department of Foreign Affairs, established in 1781, was incorporated with one for Home Affairs, and was called the Department of State, having charge not only of all foreign negotiations, and all papers connected therewith, but also the custody of all papers and documents of the old Congress, and all engrossed acts and resolutions of the new government which had become laws; also the issuing of all commissions for civil officers. The Treasury Department was continued substantially on the plan established in 1781. It was the duty of its chief officer to digest and propose plans for the improvement and management of the public revenue; to superintend the collection of the same; to execute services connected with the sale of public lands; to grant warrants on the treasury for all appropriations made by law; and to report to either House of Congress as to matters referred to him or appertaining to his office. Under him were subordinate officers—a controller, an auditor, a register, and a treasurer. The chief of the Department of State was called Secretary of State, and of the Treasury Department, Secretary of the Treasury.

The Department of War was organized very much upon the plan adopted in 1781, and its head was called Secretary of War. He was also intrusted with the superintendence of naval as well as military affairs, the material of the united service then being very limited. Not a single vessel of the Continental navy remained; and the military establishment consisted of only a single regiment of foot, a battalion of artillery, and the militia which the President might call out for the defence of the frontiers. There was a wholesome dread of a standing army. The Post-office Department was continued on the plan of Dr. Franklin, the first Postmaster-General appointed by the Continental Congress. Franklin had been succeeded by his son-in-law, Richard Bache, and he, in turn, by Ebenezer Hazard, who

then held the office. A Secretary of the Navy was not appointed until 1798. The Postmaster-General did not become a cabinet officer until 1829, the first year of President Jackson's administration.

While the House of Representatives were engaged with the subject of revenue and the Executive Departments, the Senate was busy in perfecting a plan for a national judiciary. A bill drawn by Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, chairman of a committee appointed for the purpose, was, after considerable discussion and some alteration, passed, and was concurred in by the other House. By its provisions, the judiciary was to consist of a Supreme Court having one Chief Justice and five Associate Justices, who were to hold two sessions annually at the seat of the national government. Circuit and district courts were also established which had jurisdiction over certain specified cases. Each State in the Union was made a district, as were also the Territories of Kentucky and Maine. With the exception of these two, the districts were grouped into three circuits. An appeal from these lower courts to the Supreme Court was allowed, as to points of law, in all civil cases when the matter in dispute amounted to two thousand dollars. The President was authorized to appoint a marshal for each district, having the general powers of a sheriff, who was to attend all courts and was authorized to serve all processes. Provision was also made for a district attorney in each district to act for the United States in all cases in which the national government might be interested. That organization, with slight modifications, is still in force.

The next important business that engaged the attention of Congress during its first session was the consideration of amendments to the national Constitution. The subject was brought forward by Mr. Madison, in conformity to pledges given to his State (Virginia), which was opposed to the Constitution without certain amendments. The number of amendments proposed by the minorities of the several conventions that ratified the Constitution, exceeded one hundred. These were referred to a committee which consisted of one member from each State. That committee finally reported, and after long debate and various alterations, twelve articles were agreed to and submitted to the people of the several States for ratification or rejection. The first two related to the number and pay of the House of Representatives; the other ten, a member said, were "of no more value than a pinch of snuff, since they went to secure rights never in danger." Only these ten were ratified in the course of the next two years. Two other amendments were afterward made, and these were the only ones adopted until the period of the Civil War.

The national debt was a subject that demanded the earnest attention of

Congress; but that body, having put the machinery of government in motion, deferred the consideration of its operations in detail until their next session. They contented themselves with directing the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare and report a plan for the liquidation of that debt, at the next session. The subject of the public lands was also an important one, but Congress did nothing more than to recognize and confirm the ordinance of



HENRY KNOX.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

1787 for the establishment of the Northwestern Territory. They fixed the salaries of the several officers of the government at a very low rate of compensation as compared with other nations; and toward the close of the session, which ended in September, the question respecting the permanent seat of the national government was called up and produced much excitement in and out of Congress. New York and Philadelphia were the chief aspirants for the honor. Maryland and Virginia resolved to fix the site on the Potomac. After much debate and the passage back and forth of amended bills between the two Houses, the subject was postponed until the next session.

Congress adjourned for three months on the 29th of September. The President, who had been confined to his bed six weeks in the summer with a severe malady which, at one time, put his life in peril, resolved to make a journey into New England during the recess, in search of renewed strength and to become better acquainted with the country and the inhabitants. Before his departure he selected the cabinet ministers who were to be his advisers and made other appointments, all subject to the approval or disapproval of the Senate. He chose Thomas Jefferson for the important post of Secretary of State.

Washington knew his worth as a patriot and statesman. He had succeeded Dr. Franklin as minister to the French court, and was about to return home. The President had ample opportunities for knowing the transcendent abilities, practical common sense, and sterling patriotism of Alexander Hamilton, and he chose him to fill the really most important office in the cabinet at that time, that of Secretary of the Treasury. General Henry Knox was then the Secretary of War, and he was continued in the office; for his tried patriotism, steady principles and his public services, had endeared him to Washington, and secured the public confidence. Edmund Randolph of Virginia, who was a

distinguished member of the bar, and a leading spirit in the convention that framed the Constitution, was chosen to be attorney-general. Washington regarded the national judiciary as the strong right-arm of the Constitution to enable it to perform its functions with justice, and he selected John Jay of New York for the office of Chief Justice of the United States, as the most fitting man for the place to be found in the country. Consulting alike, in this nomination, the public good and the dignity of the Court, he expressed his own feelings in a letter to Mr. Jay, in this wise: "I have a full confidence that the love you bear to our country and a desire to promote the general happiness, will not suffer you to hesitate a moment to bring into



JOHN JAY.

action the talents, knowledge, and integrity which are so necessary to be exercised at the head of that department, which must be considered the keystone of our political fabric."

So it was that with great wisdom, prudence and foresight, the sagacious founders of our republic organized and set in motion the machinery of government. The tests of full a hundred years' experience have elucidated the practical philosophy evinced by these men, individually and collectively, in the performance of their delicate and very difficult task. At the very outset, the new system of government encountered enormous strains, and the tests amounted almost to positive demonstrations of the unconquerable strength of our republic which it derived from the sap of free institutions. The wisdom and sagacity of the first President were also manifested in his choice of his aids in the management of the new government. He chose men of tried patriotism, intelligence and virtue, on whom he could rely for judicious counsel and courageous action—two very important qualities at that juncture in our national life.



CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

Thanksgiving Day Appointed—The President's Journey into New England—Official Etiquette—Ceremonies at the Opening of Congress—Hamilton's Report on the Finances—Financial Measures Adopted—First Debates in Congress on Slavery—Seat of the National Government Chosen—Patents and Copyrights—Treaty with Southern Indians—A National Currency, Bank, Coinage and Mint Established—Vermont and Kentucky Enter the Union—First Census—Wars with the Indians in the Northwest, and Their Final Subjugation.

A FEW days before Congress adjourned in September, that body, by resolution, requested the President to recommend a day of public thanksgiving and prayer to be observed by the people of the whole nation, in acknowledgment of the signal favor of the Almighty in permitting them to establish in peace a free government. Washington issued a proclamation to that effect. It was the first call for a national thanksgiving since the establishment of the new government. On the same day (October 3, 1790) he wrote in his diary: "Sat for Mr. Rammage [an Irish artist] near two hours to-day, who was drawing a miniature picture of me for Mrs. Washington. Walked in the afternoon, and sat at two o'clock for Madame de Brehan [or Brienne, sister of the French minister Moustier], to complete a miniature profile of me which she had begun from memory, and which she had made exceedingly like the original."

The President appointed Thursday, the 26th of November, as the day for the national thanksgiving, and on the 15th of October, he set out on his journey to New England. Rhode Island, not having yet adopted the new Constitution, was not in the Union, and he did not tread upon its soil, but went to Boston by way of Hartford, Springfield and Worcester, arriving there on Saturday, the 24th. There he had an official tilt with John Hancock, who was then governor of Massachusetts. Hancock had invited Washington to lodge at his house in Boston. The invitation was declined. After the arrival of the President, the governor sent him an invitation to dine with him and his family, informally, that day, at the conclusion of the public reception ceremonies. It was accepted by Washington, with a full persuasion that the governor would call upon him before the dinner hour. But

Hancock had conceived the proud notion that the governor of a State within his own domain was officially superior to the President of the United States when he came into it. He had laid his plans for asserting this superiority by having Washington visit him *first*, and to this end he had sent him the invitations to lodge and dine with him. At near the time for dinner, as Washington did not appear, Hancock evidently felt some misgivings, for he sent his secretary to the President with an excuse that he was



WASHINGTON SITTING TO MADAME BRIENNE.

too ill to call upon his Excellency in person. The latter divined the nature of the "indisposition," and dined at his own lodgings at "the widow Ingersolls," with a single guest. That evening the governor, feeling uneasy, sent his lieutenant and two of his council to express his regret that his illness had not allowed him to call upon the President. "I informed them explicitly," Washington wrote in his diary, "that I should not see the governor except at my lodgings." This took the conceit entirely out of Hancock,

who was well enough the next day (Sunday) to call upon Washington and repeat, in person, the insufficient excuse for his own folly.

The President extended his visit eastward as far as Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he sat to a persistent portrait painter named Gulligher, who had followed him from Boston. From that point he took a more northerly route back to Hartford, and arrived at New York on the 13th of November.

There, on the 8th of January, 1790, the second session of the first Congress was begun in the old Federal Hall. The proceedings were opened by a message or speech from Washington, which he delivered in person. At eleven o'clock that day he left his house in his coach drawn by four bay horses, preceded by Colonel Humphreys and Major Jackson in military uniform, riding two of his white horses, and followed by his private secretaries, Messrs. Lear and Nelson, in his chariot. His own coach was followed by carriages bearing Chief-Justice Jay and the Secretaries of the Treasury and War, Secretary Jefferson not having arrived at the seat of government. At the outer door of the Hall the President was met by the door-keepers of the Senate and House of Representatives, and conducted by them to the door of the Senate Chamber, from which the President was led through the assembled members of Congress, the Senate on one side and the House on the other, to the chair, where he was seated. The members all rose as the President entered, and the gentlemen who had accompanied him took their stand behind the Senators. In the course of a few minutes the President rose (and with him the members of both houses) and made his speech, after which he handed copies to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and then retired, bowing to the members (who stood) as he passed out. In the same manner as he came, and with the same attendants, he returned to his house. "On this occasion," Washington wrote in his diary, "I was dressed in a suit of clothes made at the woollen manufactory at Hartford, as the buttons also were." At an appointed hour on the 14th the members of the houses of Congress proceeded in carriages to the mansion of the President (those of the House of Representatives with the mace, preceded by their Speaker), and there presented their respective addresses in response to his speech. These stately ceremonials at the opening of the sessions of Congress were in vogue until Jefferson took his seat as Chief Magistrate, when they were all omitted and the President sent to the assembled Congress his annual and other messages in writing, by his private secretary, as is now done.

The public credit was a topic that demanded and received the earliest and most earnest attention of Congress at the second session. **The report**

of the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Hamilton) had been waited for with great solicitude, not only by the public creditors, but by every thoughtful patriot. It was presented in writing to the House of Representatives on the 15th of January, 1790, and embodied a financial scheme which was generally adopted and remained the line of policy of the national government, with very slight modifications, for more than twenty years. On the recommendation of the Secretary, the national government assumed not only the foreign and domestic debts incurred for carrying on the late war, as its own, but also the debts contracted by the several States during that period, for the general welfare. The foreign debt, amounting with accrued interest to almost \$12,000,000, was due chiefly to France and private lenders in Holland. The domestic debt, including outstanding continental money and interest, amounted to over \$42,000,000, nearly one-third of which was accumulated accrued interest. The State debts assumed amounted to \$21,000,000, distributed as follows: New Hampshire, \$300,000; Massachusetts, \$4,000,000; Rhode Island (which came into the Union by adopting the Constitution in May, 1790), \$200,000; Connecticut, \$1,600,000; New York, \$1,200,000; New Jersey, \$800,000; Pennsylvania, \$2,200,000; Delaware, \$200,000; Maryland, \$800,000; Virginia, \$3,000,000; North Carolina, \$2,400,000; South Carolina, \$4,000,000; Georgia, \$300,000.

The report called forth long, earnest, and able debates in and out of Congress. Concerning the foreign debt, there was but one opinion, and that was it must be paid in full according to the terms on which it was contracted; and the President was authorized to borrow \$12,000,000, if necessary, for its liquidation. With respect to the domestic debt, there was a wide difference of opinion. As the government certificates, continental bills of credit, and other evidences of debt were then held chiefly by speculators who had purchased them at greatly reduced rates, the idea had been put forth by prominent men that it would be proper and expedient to apply a scale of depreciation, as in the case of the paper-money toward the close of the war, in liquidating those claims. Hamilton warmly opposed this proposition as not only dishonest but impolitic, arguing that public credit, which might be blasted by such a proceeding, was essential to the very existence of the new government. He therefore urged that all the debts should be met according to the terms of the contract. He proposed the funding of the public debt in a fair and economical way, by which the public creditors should receive their promised interest of six per cent. until the government should be able to pay the principal, and for the latter purpose he proposed to devote the proceeds of the General Post-office as a sinking fund. The Secretary assumed that, in five years, by an honorable course in its financial

operations, the government would be able to effect loans at five and even at four per cent. with which the claims might be met. Hamilton's propositions, in general, were agreed to in March. A new loan was authorized, payable in certificates of the domestic debt, at their par value and in continental bills of credit at the rate of one hundred for one. Congress also authorized an additional loan, payable in certificates of the State debts, to the amount of \$21,000,000. A new board of commissioners was appointed, with full power to settle all claims on general principles of equity. A system of revenue from imports and internal excise, proposed by Hamilton, was also adopted.

While the financial question was under debate, another subject, more exciting, was presented to the House, in the form of a petition or memorial from the Yearly Meetings of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, of Pennsylvania and Delaware, and also of New York, on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade. Slavery then existed in all the States but Massachusetts, whose constitution contained a clause that had silently abolished it. In other States benevolent and patriotic persons had made attempts to have the system of slave-labor abolished; and these memorials proposed action of the national Congress on the subject. They were seconded by another from the Pennsylvania Society for the abolition of slavery, signed by Dr. Franklin, its president. This was the last public act of that great and good man, for he died a few weeks afterward.

These were the first debates in the national legislature on the subject of slavery, which, from time to time, afterward shook the foundations of the Union and finally culminated in the Civil War whose fires consumed the institution. They were ended on the occasion here mentioned, in March, 1790, by the adoption of a report which declared substantially (1) that Congress had no constitutional power to interfere with the African Slave-trade before the year 1808; (2) that they had no power to interfere with slavery in the States wherein it existed; (3) that they might restrain citizens of the United States from carrying on the African Slave-trade to supply foreigners with slaves, and (4) that they had power to prohibit foreigners fitting out vessels in our ports for transporting persons from Africa to any foreign port. It was when the debates on the financial scheme and the slavery question were at their height, that Jefferson arrived in New York and took his seat in Washington's cabinet as Secretary of State.

During this session the question of the permanent location of the seat of the national government was discussed, and it was finally decided that it should be at the head of sloop navigation on the Potomac River, within a territory ten miles square lying on each side of the river, ceded by Maryland

and Virginia, and named, in honor of the discoverer of America, The District of Columbia. It was to become the seat of government after the lapse of ten years. Acts for the issuing of patents for improvements, and copyrights on books, were also passed; and after a laborious and quite an exciting session, Congress adjourned in August to meet again in December.

The third session was a most important one, for measures were then adopted which laid the foundations of public credit and national prosperity deep and abiding. The relations with the Indians on the frontiers of the republic had received the earnest attention of the new government; and by prudent management Washington had induced McGillivray, a half-breed leader of the Creek Indians, near the Gulf of Mexico, to come to New York with a large delegation of Creek chiefs to negotiate a treaty. They were received by the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, then recently established, whose ideal patrons were Columbus and a legendary Indian chief named Tammany who had once been lord of Manhattan Island, and was adopted by them as the patron saint of America. The members, dressed in Indian costume, escorted the deputation into the City of New York, and entertained them at a public dinner. A treaty was concluded by which all the territory south and west of the Oconee River (in portions of which some Georgians had settled) was secured to the Indians, and all east of that stream was relinquished by them to the white people. There was also a mutual agreement of friendship; and by a secret article it was stipulated that presents to the amount of \$1,500 were to be annually distributed among the nation. This was calculated to secure the fidelity of the savages. Arrangements with the Indians in the Northwest were not so easily made, as we shall observe presently.

The subject of a national currency had early engaged the attention of Congress. Hamilton, in his masterly report on the finances, proposed the establishment of a national bank. The whole banking capital in the United States was then only \$2,000,000, invested in the Bank of North America, established by Morris, in Philadelphia, in 1781; the Bank of New York, in New York city, and the Bank of Massachusetts, in Boston. A bill for the establishment of such a bank in the City of Philadelphia became a law early in 1791, when a corporation with the title of "President, Directors and Company of the Bank of the United States" was created, to be governed by twenty-five directors, to have a capital of \$15,000,000, and to exist for twenty years. This bank went into operation in February, 1794, with a capital of \$10,000,000, and branches were established at various commercial centres.

A national coinage had occupied the attention of the public mind for

some time. So early as 1782, the subject was presented to the Continental Congress in an able report by Gouverneur Morris, written at the request of Robert Morris, the Superintendent of Finance. In 1784, Mr. Jefferson, chairman of the committee appointed for the purpose, submitted a report on the subject, agreeing with Morris in regard to a *decimal* system, but disagreeing with him as to the details. Morris tried to harmonize the moneys of all the States. Starting with an ascertained fraction as an unit, for a divisor, he proposed the following table of moneys: Ten units to be equal to one penny; ten pence to one bill; ten bills one dollar (about seventy-five cents of our currency), and ten dollars one crown. Jefferson proposed to strike four coins—a golden piece of the value of ten dollars; a dollar, in silver; a tenth of a dollar in silver, and a hundredth of a dollar in copper. In 1785, Congress adopted Mr. Jefferson's recommendation, and made legal provision for the coinage. This was the origin of our *cent*, *dime*, *dollar*, and *eagle*. The establishment of a mint was delayed, however, and no special action was taken in that direction until 1790, when Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, urged the matter upon the attention of Congress. It was not until April, 1792, when laws were proposed for the establishment of a mint. It was not put into regular operation until 1795. During the three preceding years there were experimental operations, and long debates were had in Congress concerning the device for the new coins. The Senate proposed the head of the President at the time of the coinage; the House of Representatives proposed an imaginary head of Liberty, as less imitative of royalty. The latter was adopted. The first mint was established in Philadelphia, then the temporary seat of the national government, and remained the sole coiner until 1835, when branches were authorized in North Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana. It was at about the time when the law passed authorizing the establishment of a mint (1792), when a postal system, substantially the same as now exists, was put into operation.

Vermont, originally known as the New Hampshire Grants, had a long controversy with New York about territorial jurisdiction, which was not settled when the war for independence broke out. In 1777, the people of the province, in convention, declared it to be an independent State. In 1781, the Congress offered to admit it into the Confederacy then formed, but with a considerable curtailment of its area. The people refused the terms, and it remained an independent State ten years longer. Then New York agreed to relinquish all claim to the territory and political jurisdiction on the payment by Vermont of the sum of \$30,000. This was done; and on the 4th of March, 1791, that State entered our Union as the fourteenth. The same year the first census or enumeration of the inhabitants was com-

pleted, with the result mentioned at the beginning of Chap. 87. On the first of June the following year, Kentucky, with the consent of Virginia of which it formed a part, entered the Union as the fifteenth State.

We have seen with what an affluent stream emigration flowed into the Ohio region after the organization of the Northwestern Territory in 1787. General Arthur St. Clair, a worthy officer of the Continental Army, was appointed its governor. He soon found serious trouble brewing there. The British, in violation of the treaty of 1783, still held Detroit and other Western posts, and British traders were jealous of the hardy settlers who were gathering in communities north of the Ohio. British agents, instigated by Sir John Johnson, the former Indian agent in the Mohawk Valley, and Guy Carleton (then Lord Dorchester), again governor of Canada, were inciting the savages to make war on the settlers. These well-established facts gave reasons for a prevalent belief that the British government yet hoped for an opportunity to bring back the young republic to a state of colonial dependence. The fostered discontents of the Indians were developed into open hostilities, in the spring of 1790, and attempts at pacific arrangements were fruitless.

In September, 1790, General Harmer led more than a thousand troops, regulars and volunteers, from Fort Washington (now Cincinnati) into the Indian country around the headwaters of the Maumee River, to chastise the savages as Sullivan had scourged the Senecas in 1779. Instead of humbling them by spreading desolation over their fair land, Harmer, in two battles near the present village of Fort Wayne, Indiana, was defeated with considerable loss, and abandoned the enterprise. In May the following year, General Scott of Kentucky, with eight hundred men, penetrated the Wabash country almost to the site of the present town of Lafayette, Indiana, and destroyed several villages. At the beginning of August, General Wilkinson, with more than five hundred men, pushed into the same region, and pressing on to the Tippecanoe and the prairies, destroyed some Kickapoo villages, and then made his way to the Falls of the Ohio, near Louisville. But the Indians, instead of being humbled by these scourges, were urged thereby, and the false representations of British emissaries, to fight desperately for their country and lives.

Congress now prepared to plant fortifications in the heart of the Indian country; and in September, 1791, two thousand troops were gathered at Fort Washington and marched northward under the immediate command of General Butler, accompanied by General St. Clair as chief. Twenty miles from Fort Washington, they built Fort Hamilton, on the Miami River. Forty-two miles further on they built Fort Jefferson; and when they moved

from there, late in October, there were evidences that dusky scouts were hovering on their flanks.

At length the little army of invaders halted and encamped on the borders of a tributary of the Upper Wabash, in Darke County, Ohio, near the Indiana line, a hundred miles from Cincinnati. The wearied soldiers went to rest early, unsuspecting of much danger near. All night long the sentinels fired upon prowling Indians; and before sunrise on the morning of the



DESTROYING INDIAN VILLAGES.

4th of November, 1791, while the army were preparing for breakfast, they were surprised by the horrid yells of a body of savages, who fell upon them with great fury. The troops made a gallant defence, but the slaughter among them was dreadful. General Butler was killed, and most of his officers were slain or wounded. The smitten army fled in confusion. It was with great difficulty that St. Clair, who was tortured with gout, after having three horses killed under him, escaped on a pack-horse. That evening Adjutant-General Winthrop Sargent wrote in his diary: "The troops have all been defeated; and though it is impossible, at this time, to ascertain our loss, yet there can be no manner of doubt that more than half the army are either killed or wounded." Among the fugitives were more than a

hundred feminine camp-followers—wives of the soldiers. One of them was so fleet of foot that she kept ahead of the flying army. Her long, red hair streaming behind her, was the *oriflamme* that the soldiers followed in their flight back to Fort Washington.

This defeat spread dismay over the frontiers, and hot indignation throughout the land. Washington was powerfully moved by wrath, for his last words to St. Clair were, "Beware of a surprise." He lost his usual control of his emotions, and for a few minutes he was swayed by a tempest of anger. He paced the room in a rage. "It was awful," wrote Mr. Lear, his private secretary, who was present. "More than once he threw his hands up as he hurled imprecations upon St. Clair. 'O God! O God!' he exclaimed, 'he is worse than a murderer! How can he answer it to his country? The blood of the slain is upon him—the curses of widows and orphans—the curse of Heaven!'" His wrath soon subsided. "This must not go beyond this room," he said; and in a low tone, as if speaking to himself, he continued—"St. Clair shall have justice. I will hear him without prejudice—he shall have full justice." And when, awhile afterward, the veteran soldier, bowed with infirmities and the burden of public obloquy, sought the presence of his old commander, Washington extended his hand and gave him a gracious reception. "Poor old St. Clair," said Custis, who was present, "hobbled up to his chief, seized the offered hand in both of his, and gave vent to his feelings in copious sobs and tears."

Fortunately for the frontier settlers, the Indians did not follow up the advantage they had gained, and hostilities ceased for awhile. Commissioners were appointed to treat with hostile tribes, but through the interference of British officials, the negotiations were fruitless. In the meantime General Anthony Wayne, the bold soldier of the war for independence, had been appointed St. Clair's successor in military command. Apprehending that the failure of the negotiations would be immediately followed by hostilities against the frontier settlements, Wayne marched into the Indian country with a competent force in the autumn of 1793. He spent the winter at Greenville, not far from the place of St. Clair's defeat, where he built a stockade and gave it the significant name of Fort Recovery. The following summer he pushed forward to the Maumee River, and at its junction with the Au Glaize, he built Fort Defiance. On the St. Mary's he had erected Fort Adams as an intermediate post; and in August he pushed down the Maumee with about three thousand men, and encamped within a short distance of a British military post at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, called Fort Miami.

With ample force to destroy the savage power in spite of their British

allies, and to desolate their country, Wayne offered the Indians peace and tranquillity if they would lay down the hatchet and musket. They madly refused, and sought to gain time by craftiness. "Stay where you are ten days," they said, "and we will treat with you; if you advance, we will give you battle." Wayne did advance to the head of the Maumee Rapids; and at a place called The Fallen Timbers, not far above the present Maumee city, he attacked and defeated the savages on the 20th of August, 1794. By the side of almost every dead warrior of the forest, lay a musket and



FIRING ON PROWLING INDIANS.

bayonet from British armories. Wayne then laid waste the country, and at the middle of September he moved up the Maumee to the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's that form that stream, and built a strong fortification there which was named Fort Wayne. The little army went into winter-quarters at Greenville. The next summer the sachems and warriors of the Western tribes, about eleven hundred in all (representing twelve cantons), met (August 3, 1795) commissioners of the United States there, formed a treaty of peace and ceded to our government about twenty-five thousand square miles of territory in the present States of Michigan and Indiana, besides sixteen separate tracts, including lands and forts. In consideration of these cessions, the Indians received goods from the United States of the value of \$20,000, as presents, and were promised an annual allowance valued at nearly \$10,000, to be equally distributed among all the tribes who were parties to the treaty. These were the Chippewas, Ottawas,

Pottawatomies, Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnoese, Miamis and Kickapoos who then occupied the ceded lands.

At the close of the council, on the 20th, Wayne said to the Indians: "Brothers, I now fervently pray to the Great Spirit that the peace now established may be permanent, and that it will hold us together in the bonds of friendship until time shall be no more. I also pray that the Great Spirit above may enlighten your minds, and open your eyes to your true happiness, that your children may learn to cultivate the earth and enjoy the fruits of peace and industry."

By a special treaty made with Great Britain at about that time (which will be noticed presently), the Western military posts were soon afterward evacuated by the British. The security which this action and the treaty with the Indians at Greenville gave, there was very little more trouble with the savages in the Northwest until just before the breaking out of the war of 1812-15; and an immense impetus was given to emigration into that region. The country northwest of the Ohio was now rapidly filled with a hardy population.



INDIANS ARMED BY THE BRITISH.



CHAPTER LXXXIX.

Formation of Political Parties—Revolution in France—Jefferson's Sympathies with the Revolutionists—His Suspicions—Jefferson and Hamilton at Variance—"Citizen Genet" and the Republicans—Proclamation of Neutrality—The Whisky Insurrection—Jay's Treaty with Great Britain—The African Corsairs—Treaty with Algiers—British and French Depredations—Beginning of Our National Navy—Washington Retires from the Presidency—His Farewell Address—Struggle for Political Ascendency—Washington Abused.

THE discussions concerning the national Constitution had, as we have observed, engendered party spirit in the new republic which speedily assumed definite forms and titles, first as *Federalist* and *Anti-Federalist*, and then as *Federalist* and *Republican*. The Federalist party was composed of those who favored much concentration of power in the national government; the Republican or Democratic party favored State sovereignty and the diffusion of power among the people. Mr. Jefferson, the Secretary of State, was the recognized leader of the Republicans, and Mr. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, was regarded as the head of the Federalists. The lines between these two parties were distinctly drawn, during the second session of the second Congress, and the spirit of each became rampant among the people.

Events then occurring in France had much to do in intensifying party spirit in this country. The British government had sent George Hammond here as full minister, and he had arrived in August, 1791. In December following, our government sent Thomas Pinckney as American ambassador to England; and so a good understanding between the lately belligerent governments was established. With the French government, their ancient ally, the United States held the most friendly relations.

Meanwhile a revolution, violent in its nature and far-reaching in its consequences, had broken out in France. It was the immediate consequence of the teachings of our own revolution. The people of France had long endured almost irresponsible despotism, and were yearning for freedom when the French officers and soldiers, who had served in America during the latter years of our struggle for independence, returned to their country

full of republican ideas and aspirations. They began to question the right of a few to oppress the many. The public heart was soon stirred by new ideas, and in the movement that followed, Lafayette was conspicuous for awhile. The rumblings of the pent volcano of passion in the bosom of society were heard on every hand. Legislators assumed to be responsible to the people; and the Parliament of Paris, which for hundreds of years had been a mere court for registering royal edicts, now (1787) refused to do so, and in consequence the new and grievous taxes which the war had rendered necessary, could not be levied. The puzzled king called the States-General together. It was a body which had not met for nearly two hundred years. Like the Long Parliament of England, it soon took all power into its own hands, and very shortly the king was, in effect, a prisoner in his palace, and the representatives of the people proceeded to make society as level as possible. The Bastile, whose history represented royal despotism, was assailed by the citizens of Paris and pulled down. The privileges of the nobility and clergy were abolished, and the church property was seized. The king's brothers and many of the nobles fled in affright across the frontier, and tried to induce other sovereigns to take up the cause of royalty in France and restore the former order of things. The Emperor of Austria (brother of the French queen), and the King of Prussia, entered into a treaty to that effect, at Pilnitz, in 1791.

When this treaty became known, matters were brought to a crisis in France. War followed. English troops were sent to Flanders to watch the movements on the continent. Robespierre and other self-constituted leaders in Paris, held sway for awhile, and the most frightful massacres of nobles and priests ensued. Eighteen hundred were slain in one night. The weak and unfortunate king, who had in vain accepted constitution after constitution as it was offered to him, was now deposed and a republic was established. Lafayette and other moderate men had disappeared from the arena, which had become an awfully bloody one. The king was tried on a charge of inviting foreigners to invade France, was found guilty and beheaded in Jan., 1793. His beautiful queen soon shared his fate. The English troops sent to Flanders were called to fight the French, for the rulers of France had declared war against Great Britain, Spain, and Holland, in February.

When Mr. Jefferson came into the cabinet of Washington, he had just returned from France, where he had witnessed the uprising of the people against their oppressors. Regarding the movement as kindred to the late uprising of his own countrymen against Great Britain, it enlisted his warmest sympathies, and he expected to find the bosoms of the people of the United States glowing with feelings like his own. He was sadly disappointed.

The conservatism of Washington and the tone of society in New York, in which some of the leaven of Toryism yet lingered, chilled him. He became suspicious of all around him, for he regarded the indifference of the people to the struggles of the French, their old allies, as an evil omen. He had scarcely taken his seat in the cabinet before he declared that some of his colleagues held decidedly monarchical views; and the belief became fixed in his mind that there was a party in the United States continually at work, secretly and sometimes openly, for the overthrow of republicanism here. This idea became a sort of monomania, and haunted him until his death more than thirty years afterward.

Jefferson soon rallied under his standard a large party of sympathizers with the French revolutionists. Regarding Hamilton as the head and front of the monarchical party, he professed to believe that the financial plans of that statesman were designed to enslave the people, and that the rights and liberties of the States and of individuals were in danger. Hamilton, on the other hand, regarded the national Constitution as inadequate in strength to perform its required functions, and believed weakness to be its greatest defect. With this idea Jefferson took issue. He charged his political opponents, and especially Hamilton, with corrupt and anti-republican designs, selfish motives, and treacherous intentions; and so was inaugurated that system of personal abuse and vituperation which has ever been a disgrace to the press and political leaders of this country. Bitter partisan quarrels now prevailed, in which Jefferson and Hamilton were the chief actors. The people were greatly excited. The Republicans, who hated the British intensely, called the Federalists the "British party," and the Federalists called their opponents the "French party." The latter hailed with joy the news of the death of the French king, and applauded the declaration of war against England and Holland, forgetting the substantial sympathy which the latter had shown for the Americans during their struggle for independence. Only Washington appeared calm in the midst of the uproar that proceeded from antagonists in his cabinet.

In the midst of this excitement "Citizen Genet," as he was called, an ambassador sent to our government by the French Republic, arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, where he was cordially received, in April, 1793. Washington had anxiously watched the rising tide of popular sentiment in favor of giving material aid to the French in their warfare on monarchies, and on the 22d of April he issued a proclamation of neutrality, in which he warned all citizens of the United States not to engage in the kindling war in Europe. This gave great offence to the Republicans, or Democrats, and Washington was abused without stint.

Genet's zeal outran his prudence. Without waiting to present his credentials, or even to visit the seat of our national government, he proceeded to act upon instructions of his own so-called government. He had been furnished with blank naval and military commissions, and was empowered to constitute every French consul in the United States a court of admiralty, authorized to sell prizes. Then he proceeded to fit out privateers to depredate upon the commerce of England, Holland, and Spain. One of them went prowling up our coast, and reached Philadelphia (to which city the national government had been removed) with a prize before Genet arrived there. He was received with enthusiasm on his arrival; and so anxious were his admirers to do homage to their idol, that they invited him to a public dinner before he had presented his credentials.

Genet was deeply impressed with Washington's dignity, but felt uneasy in his calm presence; so, after the ceremony of his first presentation was over, he hastened to the dinner to which he was invited, where he might easily have imagined himself to be in a Jacobin Church in Paris—songs, toasts, decorations, were all to his taste. On the table was a roasted pig, to which they gave the name of the lately murdered king. Its head, severed from its body, was carried around the table to each guest, who, after putting the *bonnet rouge* on his own head, pronounced the word "tyrant" and proceeded with a knife to mangle that of the animal to be served to so unworthy a company. Strange as it may seem to us, it is nevertheless true, that so infatuated were the partisans of the French, that leading citizens of Philadelphia, with General Mifflin, then governor of Pennsylvania, at their head, participated in the disgraceful orgies at that dinner. A Democratic tavern in Philadelphia had a revolting sign, on which was painted the headless corpse of the murdered queen. "Democratic clubs" were formed in imitation of the Jacobin clubs of Paris; and, encouraged by these and newspapers in their interest, Genet persisted in his defiant course, and tried to excite hostility between our people and their government. His acts finally disgusted Jefferson and all patriotic men. The atrocities of the French revolutionists, when known, produced a revulsion of feeling in the United States, and Washington finally requested and obtained Genet's recall. Fouchet, who succeeded him, was instructed to assure the President that Genet's course was not approved. The latter dared not return to France at that time, for he feared the sanguinary men whom he had represented. He married a daughter of Governor Clinton, settled in this country, and became a useful citizen. Our government had passed through great peril, but the helm of the ship of state was in the hand of a wise and expert pilot. No doubt the firmness and prudence of Washington, at that time, saved the republic from utter ruin.

The government was now subjected to another severe strain. There was a popular outbreak in Western Pennsylvania known in our history as the Whisky Insurrection, which gave the government much uneasiness in 1794. The rye crop west of the Alleghany Mountains around the forks of the Ohio, was largely converted into whisky by Scotch-Irish distillers. Excise laws which imposed duties on domestic distilled liquors were passed by Congress, but these western distillers despised them. When, in the spring of 1794, after the adjournment of Congress, officers were sent to enforce the laws, they were resisted by the people in arms. The insurrection became general throughout all the Pittsburgh region, and many outrages were committed. The old mob-remedy for a human nuisance was resorted to—tarring and feathering. One officer was stripped of all his clothing, smeared with warm tar, and the contents of a feather bolster was emptied upon him, giving him a most ludicrous appearance. He did not answer the philosopher's definition of a man—"a two-legged animal without feathers." Buildings occupied by friends of the government were burned; mails were robbed, and government officers were everywhere insulted and abused. At one time there were between six and seven thousand insurgents under arms. The local militia formed a part of the mob. The insurgent spirit spread into the border counties of Virginia; and the President and his cabinet, perceiving with alarm this imitation of French politics which had been inculcated by the Democrats, took immediate steps to crush the growing monster. The President first issued two proclamations (August 7 and September 25), but without effect. A convention of insurgents, held at Pittsburgh (of which young Albert Gallatin, afterward Secretary of the Treasury, was secretary), had declared the excise law to be "unjust, dangerous to liberty, oppressive to the poor, and particularly oppressive to the Western country, where grain could only be disposed of by distilling it," and had resolved to treat all excisemen with contempt. A committee of correspondence was appointed, and rebellion was fairly organized. The mob violence was, in a manner, personified, under the name of *Tom the Tinker*, and the perpetrators called these performances "mending the still." They were cheered on by "Democratic societies" which were secret associations.

It was estimated that the insurgent counties could raise sixteen thousand fighting men; and Judge Brackenridge of that region intimated that, should coercion be attempted by the national government, the insurgents might make application to Great Britain for aid, and even march on Philadelphia, then the national capital. Washington was not to be trifled with. He would listen to no temporizing policy proposed by Democratic leaders. After exhausting peaceable means he ordered out a large body of militia of

Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and sent them under the command of General Henry Lee, toward the insurgent district. The leaders of the "rebels" were alarmed, and hesitated. The argument of force was effectual, and again the wisdom and firmness of Washington averted a great peril to the young nation.

Another cloud of difficulty had gathered, dark and threatening, in the political firmament of our country. For some time a bitter feeling had been growing between the governments of the United States and Great Britain, because of the inexecution of the treaty of 1783. There were mutual accusations of infractions of that treaty. Disputes constantly arising, the bitterness of resentment, daily increased, was largely fostered by the "French party," or Republicans; and in the spring of 1794, war between the two nations seemed probable. The Americans complained that no indemnification had been made for negroes carried away at the close of the Revolution; that the British held military posts on their frontiers, contrary to the treaty; that British emissaries had excited the hostility of the Indian tribes, and that, to retaliate on France, the English had captured our neutral vessels, and impressed our seamen into the British service. The British government and people complained that stipulations concerning the property of loyalists, and also in relation to debts contracted in England before the Revolution, had not been complied with. The property of the Tories who had fled from the country was confiscated, and not much of it was regained. The British government finally paid to these sufferers an aggregate sum of more than fifteen million dollars.

Again the wisdom and prudence of Washington averted the national calamity of war. He proposed to send a special envoy to the British court to negotiate for an amicable settlement of existing disputes. Congress approved the measure, and on the 19th of April, 1794, John Jay was appointed to fulfill that delicate mission. He arrived in London in June, and was very courteously received by the British government. On the 19th of November following, a treaty was concluded which provided for the collection of debts here, by British creditors, contracted before the Revolution, but it did not procure indemnity for those who lost slaves. It secured indemnity for unlawful captures on the high seas, and also the evacuation of military posts on the frontiers yet held by the British. In order to secure some important points, Mr. Jay was compelled to yield others. The treaty was defective in some things, and objectionable in others, but it was the best that could be obtained at that time, and it averted war with Great Britain. It created intense hostility to Washington's administration, and to Jay personally, at home. The proposition to send an envoy to treat with

Great Britain had been denounced by the Democratic societies and newspapers as pusillanimous. Now these societies and newspapers which had resolved to oppose it whatever might be its provisions, attacked the treaty, the President and Mr. Jay, with vehemence, on the strength of mere rumor as to its character.

The treaty reached the President in March, 1795, but the Senate was not convened until June to consider it. Meanwhile an unfaithful member of



POLITICAL MOB IN CHARLESTON.

the cabinet (Mr. Randolph of Virginia) revealed enough of its character to warrant attacks upon it. A mad, seditious cry went over the land from the Opposition. In several cities mobs threatened personal violence to the supporters of the treaty. Mr. Hamilton was stoned at a public meeting in New York, while speaking in the open air. "These are hard arguments," he said, when a stone grazed his forehead. The British minister at Philadelphia was insulted; and in Charleston the British flag was trailed in the dust of the streets. Jay was denounced as a traitor; and in Virginia, disunion was recommended as a cure for existing political evils. "France is our national ally," shouted Democratic societies. "She has a government congenial to our own. . . . Citizens, your security depends on France. . . . Let us unite with France, and stand or fall together," cried factious orators at public meetings held throughout the country; and the Democrats adorned their hats with the French cockade, Jay was burned in effigy in many places, and longings for a guillotine were freely expressed.

But the Senate ratified the treaty on the 24th of June, 1795, and removed the seal of secrecy, at the same time forbade the publication of the treaty for prudential reasons, for there were rumors of an important order having been issued by Great Britain. Thomson Mason, a senator from Virginia, in violation of the rules of the Senate, of official decorum, and of personal honor, sent a copy of it to a Democratic newspaper. A rhymist of the day addressed Mr. Mason on the subject, in the following manner :

“ Ah, Thomson Mason ! long thy fame shall rise,
With Democratic incense to the skies !
Long shall the world admire thy manly soul,
Which scorned the naughty Senate's base control ;
Come boldly forward with thy mighty name
And gave the treaty up for public game ! ”

The ratification of this treaty was followed in October by the conclusion of one with Spain, by which the boundaries between the Spanish Territories of Louisiana and Florida were defined. This treaty also secured to the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi River, and the use of the port of New Orleans for ten years. Louisiana had been ceded to Spain by the French, in 1762.

As soon as one excitement was allayed in our country, another appeared ; and during the whole of Washington's administration of eight years, when the foreign and domestic policy of our government was fashioned and its machinery put in operation, the greatest wisdom, circumspection and conservative action, on the part of government officers, was continually demanded. Difficulties were constantly appearing on the horizon, sometimes like mere specks of clouds in the far distance, and at others near and in alarming shapes. These were chiefly in relation to trade, especially in foreign lands. American commerce had begun to rapidly expand, and had found its way through the open gate at the Pillars of Hercules, into the Mediterranean Sea. There it was met by Moslem corsairs of the Barbary Powers on the northern coast of Africa, who had long and successfully depredated upon commerce in those waters. They seized our merchandise and held our seamen in captivity in order to obtain ransom-money for them. President Washington had called the attention of Congress to these piracies as early as 1790, and at the same time Secretary Jefferson submitted an able report on the subject, in which he gave many interesting details touching the position of American commerce in the Mediterranean Sea. Little, however, could then be done for the protection of our commerce there, for the Americans were without a navy ; and for that protection we were dependent, for some time, on the fleets of Portugal, with which nation Algiers, the

chief piratical power, was at war. Even this barrier was broken in 1793, secretly, by the British, for the avowed purpose of damaging France. The agent of that government at Algiers concluded a treaty with the Dey, or ruler, in which was a stipulation that the Portuguese government should not for one year afford protection to the commerce of any nation against



JOHN JAY BURNED IN EFFIGY.

Algerine cruisers. So these North African pirates were immediately released from all restraint, and roamed the Mediterranean Sea without interruption. The Americans were indignant, but could do nothing. They had already been compelled to endure insults, without the power of resenting them. When Colonel David Humphreys, who was sent by the United States as a commissioner to the Dey of Algiers, that haughty ruler, seated on a divan covered with rich cushions, and his turbaned officers of state standing near, said: "If I were to make peace with everybody, what should I do with my corsairs? what should I do with my soldiers? They would take off my head for the want of other prizes, not being able to live on their miserable allow-

ance." This argument was unanswerable, and Humphreys wrote to his government: "If we mean to have a commerce, we must have a navy to defend it."

These depredations of the pirates and the delicate relations of our rising republic to the monarchies of the Old World caused Washington, in his annual message to Congress in December, 1793, to say: "If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war." Acting upon this hint Congress passed an act in the spring of 1794, authorizing the creation of a small navy, and appropriating about \$700,000. There was strong and determined opposition to the measure, and delay was the consequence. Meanwhile the Algerine pirate fleet, released by the British treaty withdrawing Portuguese protection, had left the bounds of the Mediterranean and were out upon the Atlantic. Within a month after that treaty was made, ten American merchant vessels and over a hundred seamen were captured by the Algerine corsairs. Humphreys tried to make terms with the Dey, but the elated ruler refused to listen. The United States paid about a million dollars as a ransom for American captives, and in the autumn of 1795, our government was compelled to agree, by treaty, to pay an annual tribute to the Dey for the relief of captured seamen, according to long usage among European nations. This was humiliating, but nothing better could then be done. Humanity demanded it. Between the years 1785 and 1793, the Algerine pirates captured fifteen American vessels and made one hundred and eighty officers and seamen slaves of the most revolting kind. To redeem the survivors of these captives and others taken more recently, the United States paid the large sum just mentioned.

Congress, by the act of 1794, had authorized the President to cause the construction of six frigates; but it was provided that work on them should cease, in the event of peace with Algiers being secured. They also provided for the erection of harbor fortifications and the purchase of cannon and artillery munitions for them. Provision was also made for the establishment of arsenals and armories. Very small sums were appropriated for these purposes. These were the first beginnings of our army, navy, and system of fortifications. Washington immediately ordered the keels of the six frigates to be laid at as many ports, namely: Portsmouth, N. H., Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Norfolk. The work was going on vigorously, when the treaty with the Dey of Algiers put a stop to it, and the mercantile marine of the United States lost all hope of protection in the event of a war with any foreign government.

The folly of not completing the naval vessels was soon made manifest, when British cruisers began the practice of taking seamen from American vessels, without leave, under the pretence that they were British deserters. The French, too, were becoming aggressive on the seas. Their government was offended by Washington's proclamation of neutrality, and especially with Jay's treaty with Great Britain. It wanted the Americans to show an active participation with the French, in their hatred of the English. It was offended with the Americans because of their treaty with Algiers independently of French intervention; and the success of our negotiations with Spain for the free navigation of the Mississippi River, excited the jealousy of the French rulers. In a word, because the United States, having the strength, assumed to stand alone, the French were offended and threatened the grown-up child with personal chastisement. In 1796, cruisers of the French republic began depredations upon American commerce, under the authority of a secret order issued by the French *Directory*, as the existing government was called. That government had declared the alliance with the Americans at an end. Under the authority of the secret order numerous American vessels were seized in the West Indies. When, in the next year (1797), war with France seemed inevitable, Congress, on the urgent recommendation of the new President (John Adams), caused the frigates *Constitution*, *Constellation*, and *United States* to be completed, equipped, and sent to sea. This was the real beginning of the American navy which, only a few years afterward, though weak in numbers, performed many gallant exploits. From that time the navy became the cherished arm of the national defence; and chiefly through its instrumentality, the name and power of the United States began to be properly appreciated in Europe, at the beginning of the 19th century.



JOHN ADAMS.

The second term of Washington's administration was now drawing to a close. He had been elected for the second time, in the fall of 1792, much against his wishes, for he felt, then, that his health was giving way, and his private affairs needed his attention. He was inaugurated in the presence of the Senate, when he made a short speech; and he served his country four years longer. His career as President was a most trying and important one, and must ever be remembered with gratitude by the American people. During that time the government was put in motion with great sagacity on the part of the President and his cabinet; its financial, domestic, and foreign policy was established, and its strength was so fully tested by immoderate strains, that even Hamilton began to think its powers sufficient to perform its required functions. It was the wish of a majority of the people that Washington should serve a third term, but he positively refused; and in the fall of 1796, that majority gave their votes for electors known to be favorable to John Adams for President of the republic. In September of that year Washington issued his admirable Farewell Address to the people of the United States. It was an earnest appeal to them to preserve the Union as the only sure hope for the continuance of their liberties and of the national life and prosperity.

The Presidential election in 1796 was a vehement struggle by the Federalists and Republicans for political ascendancy and the control of the government. The candidates were John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, the latter having left the cabinet at the close of 1793. Every appeal to the passions that party rancor could invent, was employed. Adet, the French minister, who had succeeded Fouchet, imprudently issued an inflammatory address to the American people, in which he charged the administration of Washington with violations of the friendship that had existed between the United States and France; and other partisans of Jefferson, in their zeal to injure the Federal party, made gross personal attacks upon Washington. A newspaper writer said: "If ever a nation has been debauched by a man, the American nation has been debauched by Washington. If ever a nation has been deceived by a man, the American nation has been deceived by Washington. Let his conduct, then, be an example to future ages. Let it serve to be a warning that no man may be an idol. Let the history of the Federal government instruct mankind that the mark of patriotism may be worn to conceal the foulest designs against the liberties of the people." And on the day when Washington retired from office in March, 1797, and was succeeded by John Adams as President, the same Philadelphia newspaper (*The Aurora*) contained another gross personal attack upon the beloved patriot. After declaring that he was no longer possessed of



George Washington

"power to multiply evils upon the United States," the writer said: "When a retrospect is taken of the Washingtonian administration for eight years, it is a subject of the greatest astonishment that a single individual should have cankered the principles of republicanism in an enlightened people just emerged from the gulf of despotism, and should have carried his designs against the public liberty so far as to put in jeopardy its very existence. Such, however, are the facts, and with them staring us in the face, this day ought to be a *jubilee* in the United States."

The virulence of partisanship in those days was not only as intense, but its methods were as dishonest as they are now. Among other means employed at about the time of Washington's retirement to private life, to injure his character, was the republication of a series of forged letters, purporting to have been written by him to members of his family, in the summer of 1776, and which appeared in print in 1777. These letters, if genuine, ought to have blasted Washington's reputation for patriotism, integrity, and honor. It was pretended that they were found in a small portmanteau which was in possession of his favorite body-servant, Billy, when the latter, as was falsely alleged, was captured at Fort Lee. Washington, conscious of his integrity and trustful of his countrymen, paid no attention to the publication at the time. There were ample proofs of their forgery, and they had been forgotten, when, before he left the chair of state in the spring of 1797, they were republished. The object then was the same as that twenty years before, namely to destroy public confidence in the great Leader.

Washington now thought it necessary to notice the forgery. He did so in a letter to the then Secretary of War, written on the 3d of March, 1797, in which, after giving an account of the original publication of the letters, and his silence concerning them, hitherto, he said: "As I cannot know how soon a more serious event may succeed to that which will this day take place, I have thought it a duty that I owe to myself, to my country, and to truth, now to detail the circumstances above recited; and to add my solemn declaration that the letters herein described are a base forgery, and that I never saw or heard of them until they appeared in print."



CHAPTER XC.

John Adams, President—Pride of the French Government—Reception of Monroe in France—Refusal to Receive an American Minister—A Savage Decree—Doings of Congress—Affairs in Europe—Treatment of American Envoys by the French Directory—Gerry and Talleyrand—War-Spirit in the United States—Bonaparte in the East—New Envoys to France—A Conspiracy—Bonaparte Made First Consul—Settlement of Difficulties—War on the Ocean—Outrage by a British Naval Commander—American Victories on the Sea—Downfall of the Federal Party—Death of Washington.

JOHN ADAMS took the chair as chief magistrate of the republic, in the spring of 1797, with a powerful, energetic, and disappointed political party in opposition. They lacked only two votes in the electoral college of giving the office to Adams's democratic rival, Thomas Jefferson, who became Vice-President. It was well for Jefferson's peace of mind and his public reputation that he was not elected President at that time, for he could not have satisfied the expectations of the ultra French faction which had gathered around him, and been true to his moral and patriotic convictions of duty to his country.

The French Directory, composed of five persons who had been installed executive rulers of France late in 1795, and who were supported by two legislative chambers known respectively as the *Council of Ancients* (the Senate) and *Council of Five Hundred* (the popular Assembly), were then feeling strong and proud, and were treating other governments with great insolence. The victories of the French armies, led by the rising young Napoleon Bonaparte, had given them Northern Italy. They were preparing for an invasion of Ireland with a fair prospect of success (for Irishmen were waiting to join the invaders against the English), and their corsairs were depredating with impunity upon American commerce. In the plenitude of their pride, when they heard that the people of the United States, refusing to bow to their dictation, had probably elected the opponent of their friend, Mr. Jefferson, they declared that until our government had redressed some alleged grievances of which they complained, no minister of our republic should be received by them.

James Monroe, a senator from Virginia, who had been sent to France

as minister, in 1794, remained as such after the installation of the Directory. He had been received in a most theatrical manner, as he was properly regarded as the representative of the ultra sympathizers with the French revolutionists, in America. At a public reception in the French National Convention, he read an address written in the style of the missives issued by the American Democratic Societies, to which an enthusiastic member of the Convention replied in a grandiloquent manner, and closed his oration with the following words: "To-day, the sovereign people themselves, by the organ of their faithful representatives, receive you; and you see the tenderness, the effusion of soul, that accompanies this simple and touching ceremony; I am impatient to give you the fraternal embrace, which I am ordered to give in the name of the French people. Come and receive it in the name of the American people, and let this spectacle complete the annihilation of an impious coalition of tyrants." Then Monroe, according to precedent, stepped forward and received and returned the fraternal and national embrace and kiss of the representative of the French people.

Having opposed Jay's treaty at the French republican court, Monroe was recalled by his government in 1796, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina was appointed to fill his place. On Pinckney's arrival in France late in the year with the letter of recall and his own credentials as minister, the Directory refused to receive him. Not only so, but after treating him with great discourtesy, the Directory peremptorily ordered him to leave France. He withdrew to Holland in February, 1797, and there awaited further orders from home. When Mr. Adams took the Presidential chair, the United States were without a diplomatic agent in France.

Disappointed by the failure of the "French party" to elect Mr. Jefferson President of our republic, the insolent Directory, after hearing of the result in the electoral colleges, determined to punish a people who dared to thwart their plans. In May, 1797, they issued a decree which was tantamount to a declaration of war against the United States. It not only authorized the capture of American vessels under certain conditions, but declared that any American found on board of a hostile ship, though placed there without his consent, by impressment, should be hanged as a pirate. The poor American seaman was then continually exposed to impressment into the British service, and by this decree, if found there, he would be subjected to a pirate's fate, by the French! Strangely as it seems, Joel Barlow, an American Democrat who had actively sympathized with the French Jacobins, wrote concerning this savage decree to a relative in this country: "The government here is determined to fleece you to a sufficient degree to bring you to your feeling in the only nerve in which your sensibility lies,

which is your pecuniary interest." At a Jacobin festival at Hamburgh, in 1793, Barlow had presented a song that was sung with great glee, written by Thelwall, an Englishman, to the air of *God Save the King*, the first stanza of which reads:

" God save the guillotine !
Till England's king and queen
Her power shall prove ;
Till each anointed knob,
Affords a clipping job,
Let no rude halter rob
The guillotine."

Almost simultaneously with the issuing of the French decree, an extraordinary session of Congress, called by President Adams to consider the foreign relations of our government, met at Philadelphia. The conduct of the Directory had produced a great revulsion in public feeling in our country. The reaction strengthened the Executive arm and the administration party, and patriotic Democrats began to talk complacently of war with France, which then seemed inevitable. But a majority of the cabinet favored further attempts at negotiations; and the President, with the concurrence of the Senate, appointed John Marshall, a Federalist and afterward Chief Justice of the United States, and Elbridge Gerry, a Democrat and afterward Vice-President of the republic, envoys extraordinary to join Mr. Pinckney and attempt to settle all matters in dispute between the two governments, by diplomacy. After a session of little more than six weeks, Congress adjourned. They had provided for calling out eighty thousand militia, creating a small naval force, and acts for preventing privateering.

In the meantime success had waited on French arms and French diplomacy almost everywhere. Bonaparte, who was making his victorious marches toward the Danube and the Carpathian Mountains, had compelled Austria to make peace with his government; and England, the most powerful of the enemies of France, seemed to be tottering to its fall, for the suspension of specie payment by the Bank of England had rudely shaken and weakened her financial power. It was at this flood-tide of the military and diplomatic conquests of France in October, 1797, that the American envoys reached that country and sought an audience with the French Directory. Their request was met by a haughty refusal, unless the envoys would agree to the humiliating terms of first paying into the exhausted French treasury a large sum of money in the form of a loan; by the purchase of Dutch bonds wrung from that nation by the French, and a bribe to the amount of \$240,000 for the private use of the five members of the French

Directory! This proposition came semi-officially from Talleyrand, one of the most expert and unscrupulous political trimmers that ever lived. It was accompanied by a covert threat, that if the proposition was not complied with, the envoys might be ordered to leave France in twenty-four hours, and the coasts of the United States be ravaged by French frigates sent from St. Domingo. The envoys refused compliance, and the occasion gave Pinckney the opportunity to utter in substance the noble words: "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute." Finding their mission to be useless, the envoys asked for their passports. They were given to the two Federal envoys under circumstances which amounted to their virtual expulsion from the country, while Gerry was induced to remain. He, too, was soon treated with so much insolence and contempt by Talleyrand and his associates, that he returned home in disgust to meet the indignation of his countrymen for consenting to remain. Gerry had held interviews with Talleyrand without the knowledge of his associates, and it was believed that his representation of the strength of the "French party" in the United States encouraged that minister to pursue the course he did.

Meanwhile the Directory had issued another decree, which effectually annihilated American commerce in European waters. This act, the indecent treatment of the envoys and the continued depredations of the French cruisers, aroused a vehement war-spirit in the United States. President Adams, in his first annual message to Congress (November 23, 1797), recommended preparations for war. Some of the more radical of the opposition leaders advised the payment of the money demanded, rather than risk a war with France—better to purchase peace by paying tribute than to contend for the right and for national independence! But the great body of the nation acted patriotically. In March, 1798, the President, in a special message, asked Congress to provide means for war. The request was promptly complied with. A provisional army of twenty thousand regular soldiers was voted, and provision was made for the employment of volunteers as well as militia; and then were made those provisions for a national navy already alluded to. The office of Secretary of the Navy was created, and Benjamin Stodert of the District of Columbia was the first to enter the cabinet as the head of the Navy Department, which he did at the close of April, 1798. Party-spirit disappeared in the National Legislature to a great degree, and the popular excitement against the opposition leaders in Congress became so intense, that some of the most obnoxious of them from Virginia sought personal safety in flight, under the pretence of needed attention to their private affairs. The younger republicans wore black cockades upon their hats, in imitation of the patriots of the Revolution. The stirring songs

Hail Columbia and *Adams and Liberty*, the former written by Joseph Hopkinson and the latter by Robert Treat Paine, were now first published, and were sung all over the land with unbounded applause.

Washington approved the war-measures of the government, and in July he was appointed by the President commander-in-chief of all the forces raised and to be raised, with the commission of lieutenant-general. That



WASHINGTON RECEIVING HIS COMMISSION.

commission was borne to Mount Vernon by the Secretary of War (Mr. McHenry) in person. When he arrived, Washington was in the fields not far from the mansion where his people were gathering his grain-harvest. The Secretary, without doffing his thin traveling cloak (for the day was cool), went out to meet him and presented the document to Washington in the open field. The Beloved Patriot, then sixty-six years of age, obeyed the

call of his countrymen with alacrity. "You may command me without reserve," he wrote to the President, qualifying his remark with an expressed desire that he should not be called into active service until the public need should demand it, and requesting the appointment of his friend Alexander Hamilton, then forty-one years of age, as acting general-in-chief. For this purpose, Hamilton was commissioned the first major-general. Washington held a conference with all the general officers of the army at Philadelphia, in November (1798), when arrangements were made for a complete organization of the regular forces on a war-footing. But from the beginning he believed that the gathering clouds, portending a fearful tempest, would pass away and leave his country unscathed by the lightning and the hail of war.

Events soon justified Washington's faith. Circumstances speedily allayed the fear of England, to whom the Americans looked as a possible friend in the event of a war with France. The victorious Bonaparte, who had threatened England with invasion, had gone off to Egypt with a fleet and army with the avowed object of conquering that country, invading Palestine, taking possession of Jerusalem, restoring the Jews to their ancient heritage, and rebuilding the Temple. This was only a cover to his ambitious designs for accomplishing his personal advancement. But his fleet was utterly vanquished by Nelson in the battle of the Nile; and another French fleet, that hovered off the coast of Ireland to encourage an insurrection there, was scattered by English ships-of-war under Admiral Warren. These and minor victories by the English humbled the pride of the Directory; and when there appeared omens of other disasters to their cause in Europe, and they heard of the prevailing war-spirit in the United States and the appointment of Washington to the command of a provisional army, the Directory paused in their mad career. The wily Talleyrand, ever ready to change his political coat, caused information to reach the United States government that the Directory were ready to receive advances from the former for entering into negotiations.

Without consulting his cabinet or the national dignity, President Adams nominated William Vance Murray, then the representative of the United States at the Hague, as minister plenipotentiary to France. Congress and the people were amazed, and the Senate determined not to confirm the nomination. No direct communication had been received from the Directory, and this advance after unatoned insults, seemed like cowardly cringing before a half-relenting tyrant. The President stoutly persisted for awhile, when he consented to the appointment of three envoys extraordinary, of which Mr. Murray should be one, to settle all disputes between the two governments. For this purpose Oliver Ellsworth and William R. Davie were

appointed to join Mr. Murray, but they were not to proceed to Europe until assurances should be received from France of their courteous reception there. Such assurances came from Talleyrand, and in November, 1799, the two envoys sailed for France.

Fortunately for all parties concerned, a change occurred in the government of France in the month when the envoys departed from our shores. For a long time the quarrels of factions had threatened France with anarchy. The Directory had become unpopular, and the excitable people were ripe for revolution. The brothers of Bonaparte informed him of this state of affairs at home, and he hastened from the East, with a few followers, and suddenly appeared in Paris. His brilliant exploits in the Orient had so fascinated the French, that they hailed him as the good genius of the republic. With his brother Lucien, who was then president of the *Council of Five Hundred*, and Seyes, one of the Directory and of great influence in the *Council of the Ancients*, he conspired for the overthrow of the government and the establishment of a new one.

On the morning of the 9th of November (1799), Seyes induced the *Council of Ancients* to place Bonaparte in command of the military of Paris. Then Seyes and two other members of the Directory resigned, leaving France without an Executive authority, and Bonaparte, with its strong arm—the military—firmly in his grasp. The Councils immediately perceived how they had been deceived by a trick, and assembled at St. Cloud the next morning. Bonaparte appeared at the bar of the *Ancients* to justify his conduct. Perceiving their enmity, he threatened them with military violence if they should decide against him. Meanwhile Lucien Bonaparte had read to the *Council of Five Hundred* the letter of resignation of the three Directors amid shouts from the members of “No Cromwell! no Dictator! the Constitution forever!” Bonaparte now entered that Chamber with four grenadiers and attempted to speak, but was interrupted by cries and execrations. The members appeared to be on the point of proceeding to personal violence against him, when a body of soldiers rushed in and bore him off. He was then a small, spare man, of light weight. A motion was made for his outlawry, which Lucien refused to put, but leaving the chair, he went out and made an inflammatory speech to the soldiers. At its close Murat, at the head of a body of grenadiers, entered the hall and commanded the Assembly to disperse. The members replied with shouts and execrations. The drums were ordered to be beaten, the soldiers levelled their muskets, when all but about fifty of the Council escaped by the windows. These, with the *Ancients*, passed a decree making Seyes, Bonaparte, and Ducos provisional consuls; and in December, Bonaparte was made First Consul or supreme ruler of France for life.

It was at this crisis in the political affairs of France when the American envoys reached Paris. They were cordially received by Talleyrand, by order of the First Consul, and an amicable settlement of all difficulties was soon made. A convention was signed at Paris on the 30th of September, 1800, by the American envoys and Joseph Bonaparte, C. P. E. Fluvien, and Pierre L. Rœderer, in behalf of France, which was satisfactory to both parties. The convention also made the important decision, in the face of the contrary



BONAPARTE RESCUED BY HIS SOLDIERS.

doctrine avowed and practiced by the British government, that *free ships should make free goods*. This affirmed the doctrine of Frederick the Great, enunciated fifty years before, and denied that of England in her famous "Rule" of 1756, revived in 1793. Peace was established, the envoys returned home, and the provisional army of the United States was disbanded.

While the political events just recorded were in progress, war between

the two nations actually began upon the ocean, although neither party had proclaimed hostilities. In July, 1798, the American Congress had declared the treaties between the United States and France at an end, and authorized American vessels-of-war to capture French cruisers. A marine corps was organized, and a total of thirty cruisers were provided for. Under the law for the creation of a navy, several frigates had been put in commission in 1797, but they were not ready for sea in the spring of 1798; but it was not long in the presence of impending war, before the *United States*, the *Constitution* (yet afloat), the *Constellation* and other war-vessels were out upon the ocean under such commanders as Dale, Barry, Decatur the elder, Truxton, Nicholson, and Phillips. Decatur soon captured a French corsair (April, 1798); and the British and French authorities in the West Indies were greatly surprised by the appearance of so many American cruisers in those waters in the summer and autumn of 1798. At the close of the year the American navy consisted of twenty-three vessels, with an aggregate armament of four hundred and forty-six guns.

It was at this time that the first of a series of outrages upon the flag of the republic was committed by a British naval commander, that finally aroused the people of the United States to a vindication of their honor and independence by an appeal to arms. The American cruiser *Baltimore*, Captain Phillips, in charge of a convoy of merchant vessels from Havana to Charleston, when in sight of Morro Castle fell in with a British squadron. The United States and Great Britain were then at peace, and Phillips did not expect anything from the commander of the squadron but friendship, when, to his surprise, three of the convoy were captured by the British cruisers. Phillips bore up alongside the British flag-ship to ask for an explanation, when he was informed by her commander that every man on board the *Baltimore*, who could not show a regular American protection paper, should be transferred to the British vessel. Phillips protested against the outrage; and when fifty-five of his crew were taken to the British flag-ship, he, under legal advice, surrendered his vessel with the intention of referring the matter to his government. Only five of the crew were detained by the British commander. These were impressed into the service of the royal navy, and the remainder were sent back. The *Baltimore* was released, and the British squadron sailed away with the three merchant-vessels as prizes.

This outrage—this practical application of the claims of the British government to the right of searching American vessels without leave and taking seamen from them without redress—lighted a flame of hot indignation throughout our republic. But, at that time, the American government, like

that of England, was strongly influenced, if not controlled, by the mercantile interest which had become very potential. The trade between the United States and Great Britain was rapidly increasing, and was very profitable; and the American merchants, as a body, were willing to submit to almost any insult from the "Mistress of the Seas," rather than to endanger the foundations of their prosperity by provoking hostilities with Great Britain. The American cabinet in their obsequious deference to Great Britain had actually instructed the naval commanders not to molest the



THE "CONSTITUTION" AND "L'INSURGENTE."

cruisers of any nation (the French excepted) on any account—not even to save a vessel of their own nation. The pusillanimity of this policy was now aggravated by an act of flagrant injustice and cowardice on the part of our government, that made the cheeks of true patriots crimson with shame. Captain Phillips was dismissed from the navy, without trial, because he had surrendered his vessel without making a show of resistance, and no notice was taken of the outrage by the British commander!

During the year 1799, the American navy was much strengthened by the launching and putting into commission of several new vessels. In February, the frigate *Constellation*, Commodore Truxton commanding, fell in with and captured the famous French frigate *L'Insurgente*, of 44 guns and 409 men, off the Island of Nevis, in the West Indies. The American and English press teemed with eulogies of Truxton. Many congratulatory addresses were sent to him; and the merchants of London gave him a service of silver-plate worth more than three thousand dollars, of which was

engraved a picture of the battle. For a long time a popular song called "Truxton's Victory" was sung everywhere at private and public gatherings.

Very little of importance occurred on the ocean during the remainder of that year; but at the beginning of February, 1800, Truxton, in the *Constellation*, gained a victory over the French frigate *La Vengeance*, of 54 guns and 500 men. The battle was fought on the 1st of February, off Guadeloupe. In consequence of the falling of the mainmast of the *Constellation*, the supporting shrouds of which had been cut away, the *Vengeance* escaped. For this exploit Congress gave Truxton a gold medal. *La Vengeance* would have been a rich prize. She had on board a large amount of merchandise and specie, and the governor of Guadeloupe and his family returning to France. The convention at Paris brought peace, and the navy of the United States was soon called into another field of service.

The action of President Adams in the nomination of envoys to France before official intimations from the Directory that negotiations were desirable had been received, caused very serious divisions in the Federal party. Hostile feelings, already existing, were thereby intensified, and the speedy downfall of the Federal party, as a controlling power in the government, was charged to the errors of judgment and temper on the part of Mr. Adams. He had already become unpopular because of his obstinacy and personal strictures. Very vain and egotistical, he was sensitive and jealous. His judgment was often swayed by his vivid imagination. His prejudices were violent and implacable, and his honesty and frankness, which made him almost a stranger to policy and expediency, made him very indiscreet in his expressions of opinions concerning men and measures. These characteristics made him an unfit leader of a great party. Persons who disagreed with him concerning measures of public policy, he regarded as personal enemies, and for this reason his feelings toward Hamilton were as bitter as ever were those of Jefferson. The consequence was that he was at variance with many of the leaders of the Federal party, who, regarding him as a Jonah, laid a plan to defeat his re-election to the Presidency—an event which they knew he earnestly desired should take place. The cunning Democrats fanned the flame of separation in the Federal party. Mr. Adams's political partisans succeeded in the scheme for his defeat; but they did more. They defeated the Federal party. The Democratic candidate for President, Mr. Jefferson, was elected, with Aaron Burr as Vice-President. The controlling power of that party, in the government, was then lost forever, after a most useful existence of about ten years. The odium in which Adams's administration was held was in consequence of the passage of the *Alien* and *Sedition* Laws

which he favored—laws which authorized the President to expel aliens from our country under certain conditions, and by which citizens might be punished by fine and imprisonment who might combine in opposing government measures, or who might resist the government in words, in a “false and scandalous manner.” Hamilton deprecated the laws and wrote: “Let us not establish a tyranny. Energy is a very different thing from violence.” He saw the danger, and wrote prophetically: “If we push things to the extreme, we shall then give to faction *body* and *solidity*.” A rhymist of the day wrote exultantly:

“The *Federalists* are down at last!
 The *Monarchists* completely cast!
 The *Aristocrats* are stripped of power—
 Storms o'er the *British faction* lower.
 Soon we Republicans shall see
 Columbia's sons from bondage free.
 Lord! how the *Federalists* will stare
 At *Jefferson* in Adams's chair.

In the closing month of the 18th century the inhabitants of the young republic were bereaved by the death of Washington. At his grave the hoarser croakings of the ravens of detraction were silenced, and were never heard afterward. He had led his fellow-citizens safely through the perils of war to political independence, and the equal perils of faction to the dignity of a righteous and prosperous nation.

On the 13th of December, 1799, Washington was exposed to a storm of sleet, and took cold. At three o'clock in the morning of the 14th he awoke, and found himself the victim of a severe attack of membranous croup. At daybreak, himself and Mrs. Washington being alarmed, the family physician, Dr. Craik, was sent for. In the course of the day, two other physicians were called and came. All that medical skill and affectionate devotion could do to relieve the sufferer was done, but without effect. The malady increased in intensity, and before midnight the spirit of the Beloved Patriot took its flight.

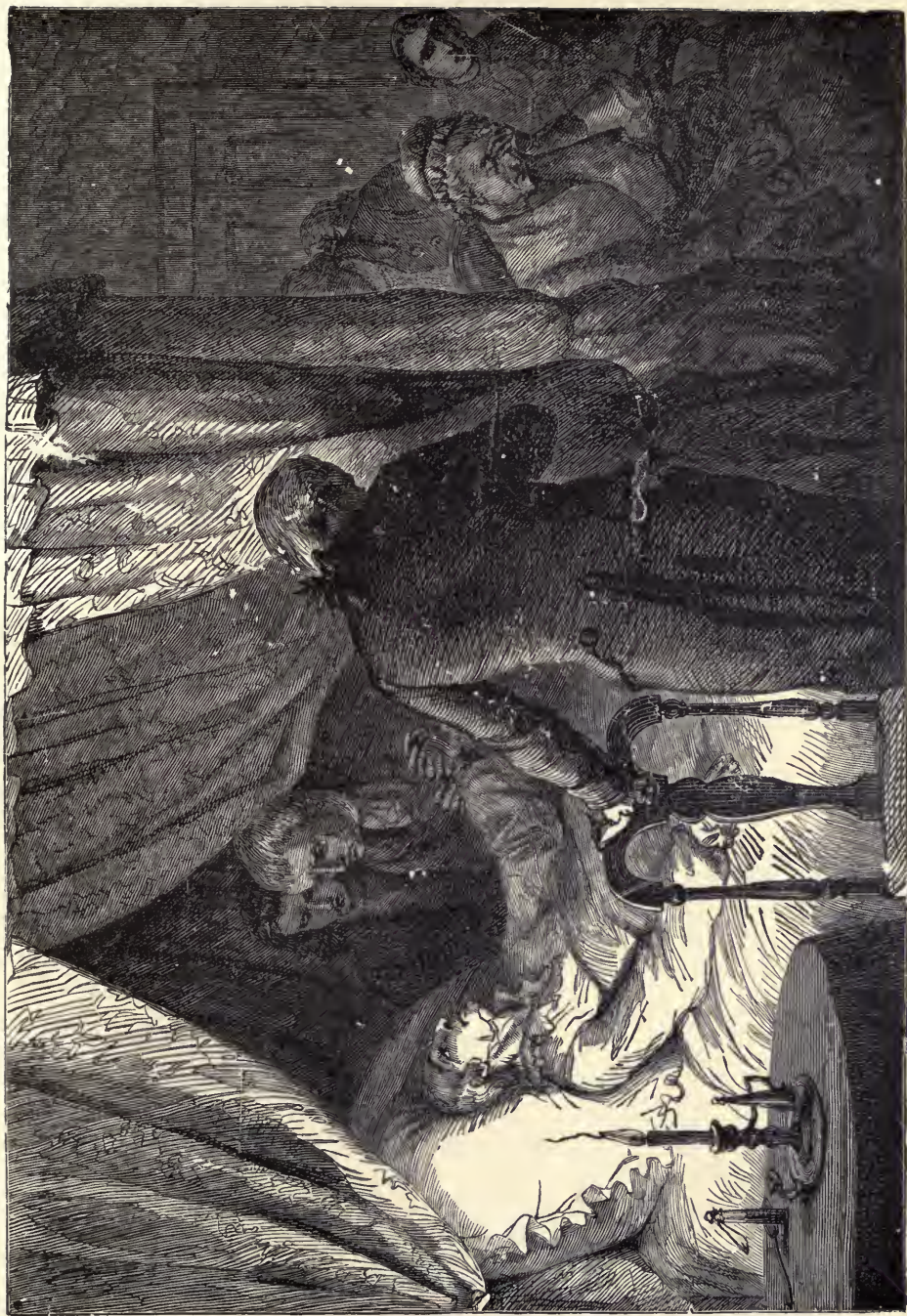
Toward evening Washington said to his friend and physician: “Doctor, I die hard, but I am not afraid to go. I believed, from my first attack, that I should not survive it. My breath cannot last long.” Relatives of the family were sent for, but did not arrive in time to hear his last words. At six o'clock he said to Mr. Lear, his secretary, as the latter raised him up in bed: “I feel myself going; I thank you for your attentions; but I pray you take no more trouble about me. Let me go off quietly. I cannot last long.” At about ten o'clock he attempted to speak to Mr. Lear, but failed

several times. At length he audibly murmured: "I am just going. Have me decently buried; and don't let my body be put into the vault in less than three days after I am dead." Mr. Lear could not speak, but bowed his assent. Washington whispered: "Do you understand?" Mr. Lear replied, "Yes." "'Tis well," said the dying Patriot; and these were the last words that he spoke—"'*Tis well!*'"

"About ten minutes before he expired," Mr. Lear afterward wrote (which was between ten and eleven o'clock), "his breathing became easier. He lay quietly; he withdrew his hand from mine and felt his own pulse. I saw his countenance change. I spoke to Dr. Craik, who sat by the fire. He came to the bedside. The General's hand fell from his wrist. I took it in mine and pressed it to my bosom. Dr. Craik put his hand over his eyes, and he expired without a struggle or a sigh. While we were fixed in silent grief, Mrs. Washington, who was sitting at the foot of the bed, asked with a firm and collected voice, 'Is he gone?' I could not speak, but held up my hand as a signal that he was no more. 'Tis well,' she said, in the same voice; 'all's now over; I shall soon follow him; I have no more trials to pass through.'"

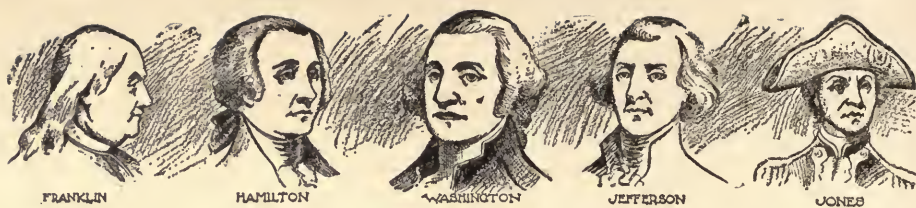
So departed the spirit of this great and good man whose body, thirty hours before, was in robust health, and which gave promise of a vigorous and serene old age. His attendants at that solemn hour were his wife, with whom he had lived forty-one years; his secretary, Mr. Lear; the three physicians, and his faithful colored body-servant Christopher, and equally faithful old colored woman, who was the nurse of the family. The style of the room in which he died (an upper chamber) and the bedstead of uncommon width on which rested his dying couch, are both delineated in the accompanying illustration copied from drawings from the originals by the author.

The news of Washington's death reached President Adams at Philadelphia by a special courier, on the morning of the 15th of December. John Marshall announced it to the assembled Congress that day, when a public funeral was decreed; and as the tidings went over the land, bells tolled funeral knells in solemn monotonies. When, forty days afterward, the news reached England, the flags of the great English fleet of sixty vessels lying in Torbay were lowered to half-mast; and Bonaparte, just made First Consul, ordered a funeral oration to be pronounced before himself and the civil and military authorities of France. On an appointed day, Congress went in procession to the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, where an eloquent funeral oration was delivered by General Henry Lee, a son of the "Lowland Beauty," who was the object of Washington's first love in his youth. Con-



THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON

gress also decreed the erection of a monument to his memory at the site of the new national capital on the banks of the Potomac, and asked the privilege (which was granted) of depositing his remains at the seat of the national government. That monument has not been erected, and the remains are in a vault at Mount Vernon. A cenotaph, constructed upon a plan unworthy of the subject, the nation, and the principles of taste, has been a-building many years; and Congress at its session in 1875-'76, made an appropriation for the purpose of completing it. It is in the form of a huge obelisk of white marble; and the original design called for an unsightly structure to surround its base. The obelisk has been carried up many feet already. It stands near the shore of the Potomac River within the limits of Washington city, and when completed will be conspicuous at a great distance; but it is simply a following of the barbarian custom of perpetuating the memory of their patriots and heroes by a *pile of stones*—an artistic improvement on the ancient cairn. How much more appropriate, artistic and useful, would have been the erection of a building at the National Capital, in the simple Doric style of architecture, into which might be gathered for all time the portraits, by painting or sculpture, of the men and women of the nation whom the whole people delight to honor for their great, and generous, and patriotic deeds. Such portraits, when looked upon by our young citizens, would tend to inspire them to imitate the lives of their great exemplars. Sallust says: "I have often heard that Quintus Maximus, Publius Scipio, and other reverend persons of the Roman Commonwealth, used to say that, whenever they beheld the images of their ancestors, they felt their minds vehemently excited to virtue. It could not be the wax, nor the marble, that possessed this power; but the recollections of their great actions kindled a generous flame in their breasts, which could not be quelled till they also, by virtue, had acquired equal fame and glory."



CHAPTER XCI.

Seat of the National Government—President Jefferson, His Policy and His Cabinet—Condition of the Government—Affairs Abroad—Difficulties with the Barbary Powers—Our Navy—War with the Barbary Powers—Growth of the Republic—Purchase of Louisiana—Expedition to the Pacific Ocean Across the Continent—Burr's Schemes—Blennerhassett—General Jackson—Burr's Trial for Treason—A Powerful Opposition—Unpatriotic Movements—Troubles with Spain Amicably Settled.

IN the summer and autumn of the year 1800, the seat of the national government was transferred from Philadelphia to the embryo city of Washington, on the banks of the Potomac, and at the verge of a Maryland forest. "Woods," wrote Mrs. Adams (the wife of the President) in November, "are all you see from Baltimore until you reach the *city*, which is only so in name. Here and there is a small cot, without a glass window, interspersed among the forests, through which you travel miles without seeing a human being." Only the north wing of the capital was then finished, and the President's house was only completed externally. Mrs. Adams wrote of that as being "upon a grand and superb scale, requiring about thirty servants to attend and keep the apartments in proper order, and perform the ordinary business of the house and stables." "If they will put me up some bells," she wrote,— "for there is not one hung through the whole house, and promises are all you can obtain—and let me have wood enough to keep fires, I design to be pleased. I could content myself almost anywhere for three months; but, surrounded with forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had, because people cannot be found to cut and cart it! Briesler entered into a contract with a man to supply him with wood; a small part—a few cords only—has he been able to get. Most of that was expended to dry the walls of the house before we came in, and yesterday the man told him it was impossible to procure it to be cut and carted. He has had recourse to coals, but we cannot get grates made and set. We have, indeed, come into a *new country*."

The City of Washington was laid out on a magnificent scale, in 1791, with broad avenues bearing the names of the several States of the Union radiating from the hill on which the Capitol was built, with streets intersect-

ing them in such a peculiar way, that they have ever been a puzzle to strangers. The corner-stone of the Capitol was laid by Washington, in April, 1793, with masonic ceremonies. Only the two wings were first built, and these were not completed until 1808.

The site for the city was a dreary one. At the time when the government was first seated there, only a path, leading through an alder swamp on the line of the present Pennsylvania Avenue, was the way of communication between the President's house and the Capitol. For awhile the executive and legislative officers of the government were compelled to suffer many privations there. Oliver Wolcott wrote to a friend in the fall of 1800: "There is one good tavern about forty rods from the Capitol, and several houses are built or erecting; but I don't see how the members of Congress can possibly secure lodgings unless they will consent to live like scholars in a college or monks in a monastery, crowded ten or twenty in one house. The only resource for such as wish to live comfortably will be found in Georgetown, three miles distant, over as bad a road in winter as the clay grounds near Hartford. . . . There are, in fact, but few houses in any one

place, and most of them small, miserable huts, which present an awful contrast to the public buildings. The people are poor, and, as far as I can judge, they live like fishes, by eating each other. . . . You may look in any direction over an extent of ground nearly as large as the City of New York, without seeing a fence or any object except brick-kilns and temporary huts for laborers. . . . There is no industry, society, or business."

Mr. Jefferson began his administration on the 4th of March, 1801, under favorable auspices. He was then in the fifty-eighth year of his age—a tall, bony man, with grizzled sandy hair, and rather sloven in dress. He affected



JEFFERSON'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

republican simplicity in all things, and sometimes carried this notion to extremes. Senator William Plummer, writing in 1802, said: "The next day after my arrival I visited the President, accompanied by some Democratic members. In a few moments after our arrival a tall, high-boned man came into the room. He was dressed, or rather undressed, in an old brown coat, red waistcoat, old corduroy small clothes much soiled, woolen hose, and slippers without heels. I thought him a servant, when General Varnum surprised me by announcing it was the President."

Mr. Jefferson indicated his policy, as follows, in a letter to Nathaniel Macon: "1. Levees are done away with. 2. The first communication to the next Congress will be, like all subsequent ones, by message, to which no answer will be expected. 3. The diplomatic establishment in Europe will be reduced to three ministers. 4. The compensation of collectors depends on you [Congress], and not on me. 5. The army is undergoing a chaste reformation. 6. The navy will be reduced to the legal establishment by the last of this month [May, 1801]. 7. Agencies in every department will be revised. 8. We shall push you to the uttermost in economizing. 9. A very early recommendation has been given to the Postmaster-General to employ no printer, foreigner, or Revolutionary Tory in any of his offices." Mr. Jefferson appointed James Madison, Secretary of State; Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War; and Levi Lincoln, Attorney-General. He retained Mr. Adams's Secretaries of the Treasury and Navy, until the following autumn, when Albert Gallatin, a naturalized foreigner, was appointed to the first-named office, and Robert Smith, to the second. The President early resolved to reward his political friends, when he came to "revise" the "agencies in every department." Three days after his inauguration, he wrote to Colonel Monroe: "I have firmly refused to follow the counsels of those who have desired the giving of offices to some of the Federalist leaders in order to reconcile. I have given, and will give, only to Republicans, under existing circumstances." The doctrine, ever since acted upon, that "to the victor belongs the spoils," was then practically promulgated from the fountain-head of government patronage; and with a Cabinet wholly Democratic when Congress met in December, 1800, and with the minor offices filled with his political friends Mr. Jefferson began his Presidential career of eight years' duration. In his inaugural address, he had said: "Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Federalists—we are all Republicans." Vigor and enlightened views marked his course; and even his political opponents were compelled to confess his forecast and sound judgment in regard to the national policy.

The machinery of the government was now adjusted to an easy-working condition. The treasury was never so full nor the revenue so abundant; and Jefferson was enabled to signalize his accession to office by the repeal of the Excise Law and other obnoxious acts. There were omens of peace abroad, and these promised calmness and prosperity at home. Bonaparte had, in the space of about ten years, as First Consul, brought nearly all Europe trembling at his feet. The old thrones shook in his presence, and when he whispered peace, the nations listened eagerly. The geographical lines of dominions, on the map of Europe, had been changed by his conquests. Only England now remained an armed opponent of the Corsican ruler of France, for by treaties and otherwise, he had conciliated the others; and because of her mischievous doctrines, practically enforced, concerning the freedom of neutrals, the Armed Neutrality of 1780 was revived. Bonaparte threatened her island domain with invasion, and the tramp of a conquering army on the soil of her East India possessions; England arose in her might and defied Europe, and her ships continued to be seen

"Riding without a rival on the sea."

The insolence of the North African pirates now became unbearable, and the United States resolved to cease paying tribute to the Barbary Powers. Captain Bainbridge had been sent, in 1800, in the frigate *George Washington*, to pay the usual tribute to the Dey of Algiers, and had been treated with cruel insolence by that ruler. After performing the errand courteously, and when he was about to leave, the Dey commanded Bainbridge to carry an Algerian ambassador to the Court of the Sultan at Constantinople. Bainbridge politely refused compliance, when the haughty governor said: "You pay me tribute, by which you become my slave, and therefore I have a right to order you as I think proper." Bainbridge could not sail out of the harbor of Algiers without the permission of the vigilant guns of the castle, and was compelled to yield. He bore the swarthy ambassador to the Golden Horn, when the Sultan saw our starry-flag for the first time. He had never heard of the United States of America. His own flag was garnished with a *crescent*, and he considered it a favorable omen for a flag bearing the *stars* of heaven to enter the waters of the seat of the Moslem Empire.

Bainbridge was granted a *firman* to protect him from further insolence from the Barbary rulers, and he used it efficiently. When he returned to Algiers, he was ordered by the Dey to go on another errand to Constantinople, when the captain peremptorily refused. The African, enraged, sprang from his seat, and threatening Bainbridge with personal injury, ordered his attendants to seize him. Bainbridge quietly produced the *fir-*

man, when the lion became like a lamb. The Dey obsequiously offered the man whom he had just regarded as his slave, his friendship and service. Bainbridge, assuming the air of a dictator, demanded the instant release of the French consul and fifty or sixty of his own countrymen, whom the Dey had imprisoned, and they were borne away in the *Washington* in triumph. Then he wrote to the Secretary of the Navy: "I hope I shall never again be sent to Algiers with tribute, unless I am authorized to deliver it from the mouth of our cannon."

When news of these proceedings reached the United States, it excited much indignation. The navy, the strong right-arm of the government, which had enabled commerce, under its protection, to sell to foreign nations during the difficulties with France, the surplus products of our republic to the amount of \$200,000,000, and to import sufficient to yield a revenue to the government of more than \$23,000,000, was then paralyzed by the exercise of unwise economy on the part of the government, which had authorized the sale of all the naval vessels excepting thirteen frigates. Yet these were decreed sufficient to meet the immediate demands for the protection of American commerce in the Mediterranean Sea.

In the spring of 1801, President Jefferson, in anticipation of trouble with the Barbary powers, ordered Commodore Dale to go with a squadron, composed of the frigates *President*, *Philadelphia*, *Essex* and *Enterprise*, to cruise off the North African coasts. Dale reached Gibraltar on the first of July, and found that Tripoli had lately declared war against the United States, and its corsairs were out upon the sea. His presence effectually restrained the pirates, and made them quite circumspect. The next year a larger squadron, composed of the frigates *Chesapeake*, *Constitution*, *New York*, *John Adams*, *Adams*, and *Enterprise*, commanded by Commodore Richard V. Morris, were sent to the same waters, one after another, from February to September. The harbor of Tripoli was blockaded in May, and not long afterward the *Chesapeake*, Lieutenant Chauncey acting-captain, had a severe fight with a flotilla of Tripolitan gun-boats. These, as well as some cavalry on shore, were severely handled by this frigate. Finally, in 1803, the whole squadron appeared off the coasts of the Barbary powers, and effectually protected American commerce from the corsairs, for awhile. But Morris's cruise was not regarded as an efficient one. A court of inquiry decided that he had not "discovered due diligence and activity in annoying the enemy," and the President dismissed him from the service, without trial.

In August, 1803, Commodore Preble, in command of a squadron, sailed for the Mediterranean in the frigate *Constitution*. After settling some difficulties with the Emperor of Morocco, whose corsairs were on the sea, he

appeared with his vessels before the harbor of Tripoli, where a serious disaster occurred. The frigate *Philadelphia*, commanded by Captain Bainbridge, while reconnoitering the harbor, struck a rock and was captured by the Tripolitans. Her officers were made prisoners-of-war, and her crew were made slaves. When the news reached Preble at Malta, a plan was devised



DECATUR BOARDING THE "PHILADELPHIA."

for the destruction of the *Philadelphia* before her captors could make her ready for sea. Lieutenant Decatur, with seventy-four volunteers—ardent and gallant young men like himself—sailed from Syracuse in a small vessel called a "ketch," named the *Intrepid*. She entered the harbor of Tripoli on the evening of the 3d of February, 1804, in the disguise of a vessel in distress, and was moored alongside the *Philadelphia*. Decatur and his men were concealed below, when suddenly they burst from the hatches like a destructive flame, leaped on board the *Philadelphia*, and after a desperate fight, killed or drove into the sea her turbaned occupants. Then they set her on fire and escaped by the light, under cover of a heavy cannonade from the

American squadron, and followed by shots from the castle, vessels at anchor in the harbor, and batteries on shore. Yet not one of Decatur's men was harmed. Before a favoring breeze they sailed to Syracuse, where they were greeted with joy by the American squadron there. The scene of the burning vessel was magnificent. As the guns of the *Philadelphia* were heated, they were discharged, giving a grand *feu de joie* for the victory.

This bold act alarmed the Bashaw, and subsequent events made him very discreet. In August following, Preble, with his squadron, opened a heavy bombardment upon his town, castle, shore-batteries, and flotilla of gun-boats, no less than four times, between the 3d and the 28th. In one of these engagements Decatur again distinguished himself. In command of a gun-boat, he laid her alongside one of the largest of the Tripolitan vessels, boarded her, and made her a prize. Then he boarded another, when he had a desperate personal encounter with her powerful captain. The struggle was brief but fearful. Decatur killed his antagonist, and the vessel was captured. Finally, on the 28th of August, Preble, with his flag-ship, the *Constitution*, entered the harbor, when her great guns opened a heavy fire upon the town, the castle, the batteries on shore and the camps of twenty-five thousand land troops, and the flotilla in the harbor. She silenced the Tripolitan guns, sunk a Tunisian vessel-of-war, damaged a Spanish one, severely bruised the enemy's galleys and gun-boats, and then withdrew without a man hurt.

Another attack was made on the 2d of September. On that night—a very dark one—the *Intrepid*, which had been converted into a floating mine—an immense torpedo—with one hundred barrels of gunpowder below her deck, and a large quantity of shot, shell, and irregular pieces of iron lying over them, went into the harbor under the general direction of Captain Somers, to scatter destruction among the vessels of the enemy. She was towed in by two boats, with brave crews, in which it was expected all would escape, after firing combustibles on board of her. All hearts in the American squadron followed the *Intrepid* as she disappeared in the gloom. Suddenly a lurid flame, like that from a volcano, shot up from the bosom of the harbor, and lighted with its horrid glare the town, castle, batteries, ships, camps, and surrounding hills. It was followed by an explosion that shook the earth and sea, and flaming masts and sails and fiery bombs rained upon the waters for a moment, when darkness more profound settled upon the scene. The safety-boats were anxiously watched for until the dawn. They never returned, and no man of that perilous expedition was heard of afterward. Their names are inscribed upon a monument erected to the memory of these brave men, and the event, that stands at the western front of the Capitol at Washington city. Hostilities on the Barbary coast now ceased

for the season. Preble was relieved by Commodore Samuel Barron, and early in 1805 he returned home, and received the homage of the nation's gratitude.

While Barron's ships blockaded Tripoli, an important land movement against that province was undertaken, under the general management of William Eaton, American consul at Tunis. The reigning Bashaw of Tripoli was an usurper, who had murdered his father and taken the seat of power from his brother, Hamet Caramalli. The latter had fled to Egypt. A plan was concerted between him and General Eaton for the restoration of his rights. The latter acted under the sanction of his government. Eaton went to Egypt, and at the beginning of March he left Alexandria, accompanied by Hamet and his followers, some Egyptian soldiers, and seventy United States seamen. They made a march of a thousand miles across the borders of the Libyan desert; and at near the close of April, in conjunction with two American vessels, they captured the Tripolitan city of Derne, on the borders of the Mediterranean Sea. They had defeated the Tripolitan forces in two battles, and were about to march on the capital when news came that the American consul-general (Tobias Lear) had made a treaty of peace with the terrified Bashaw. So ended the hopes of Hamet, and also the four years' war with Tripoli. But the ruler of Tunis was yet insolent. He was speedily humbled by Commodore Rodgers, Barron's successor, and the power of the United States was respected and feared by the half-barbarians of the north of Africa. Pope Pius the Seventh declared that the Americans had done more for Christendom against the pirates than all the powers of Europe united.

While these events were occurring on the Mediterranean and its borders, our Republic had been growing rapidly in political and moral strength, and by the expansion of its domain. During Mr. Jefferson's first term, one State (Ohio) and two Territories (Indiana and Illinois) had been formed out of the free Northwestern Territory. Ohio was organized as an independent territory in the year 1800, and in the fall of 1802, it was admitted into the Union as a State. At that time there was great excitement in the country west of the Alleghany Mountains, in consequence of a violation of the treaty made with Spain in 1795, by the governor of Louisiana, in closing the port of New Orleans against the commerce of our Republic. There was a proposition before Congress for taking forcible possession of that region, when it was ascertained that by a secret treaty Spain had retroceded Louisiana to France. Negotiations were immediately begun for the purchase of that domain from France, by the United States. Robert R. Livingston, the American minister at the court of the First Consul, found very little diffi-

culty in making a bargain with Bonaparte, for the latter wanted money and desired to injure England by strengthening her rivals. He sold that magnificent domain, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico northward to the present State of Minnesota, and from the Mississippi westward toward the Pacific Ocean, for the sum of fifteen million dollars. The bargain was made in the spring of 1803, and in the fall the country, which added nine hundred thousand square miles to our territory, was taken possession of by the United States. When the bargain was closed, Bonaparte said, prophetically: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." Out of that domain have been carved some of our most opulent States and Territories.

The same year when Louisiana was bought, President Jefferson, by a confidential message to Congress, proposed the first of those peaceable conquests which have opened, and are still opening, to civilization and human industry, the vast inland regions of our continent, then unknown. He recommended an appropriation to defray the expenses of an exploring expedition across the continent from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean. The appropriation was made, and an expedition was afterward organized under the control of Captains Lewis and Clarke, consisting of a little less than thirty persons. They left the western shore of the Mississippi on the 14th of May, 1804, traversed the continent between the great river and the "South Sea" of the earlier explorers, and in the course of twenty-seven months, completed their labors, by which the first reliable information was obtained respecting the vast country which they had penetrated and passed through.

The Spaniards did not like the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States. The Spanish minister at Washington protested against the bargain. Questions concerning the true boundaries of the territory were raised. The Spaniards were disposed to hold all the country east of the Mississippi, and so retain New Orleans. This disposition aroused the resentment of the people of the West against the occupants of the Lower Mississippi Valley, and our government was disposed to assert its rights by force of arms, if necessary. Regular troops under General Wilkinson, and militia from Tennessee, assembled at Natchez as a sort of army of observation. But a peaceful transfer of the domain was made. The boundaries were defined, and the Spaniards were left in possession of the country along the Gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic Ocean, east of a line nearly corresponding with the present boundary between Louisiana and Mississippi, on the Pearl River, and south of the thirty-first degree of latitude. It was known as the Floridas.

The country was agitated by stirring events in the region beyond the



EMIGRATION TO THE WESTERN COUNTRY

Alleghanies in 1805, and for a year or two afterward. The fertile valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi were rapidly filling with adventurers and settlers, and materials for new States, sufficient to make an empire, were rapidly gathering. The stream of navigation was flowing full from the east, down the western slopes of the great hills. Michigan was erected into a Territory that year (1805); and all along the Mississippi, settlements were taking deep



EMIGRATION TO THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

root and flourishing. These were generally composed of hardy and venture-some men and women ready for any honorable enterprise that promised gain.

At that time there was a prevailing opinion in our country that the Spanish inhabitants in Louisiana would not quietly submit to the rule of our government. Taking advantage of this belief, and the restless spirits of the inhabitants who were forming States in the Great Valley, Aaron Burr, an ardent politician and expert and unscrupulous intriguer, who had been Vice-President of the United States during Jefferson's first term, thought he saw an opportunity to make circumstances subservient to his own ambitious

views. In the summer of 1804, he had murdered General Hamilton in a duel, and became an outcast from society. He was tolerated only by his political party, and was not renominated with Mr. Jefferson. Smarting under the stings of neglect and the "good man's contumely," he was ready to attempt the execution of any scheme that promised a retrieval of his fame and fortune. He seems to have contemplated one in which the fortunes of the inhabitants west of the mountains were involved, but what it was exactly will never be made known, for the chief actors are dead and have "left no sign." It was thought that he intended to dis sever the Union, and set up an independent republic in the West with himself at the head. Others have believed that his scheme was to organize a strong military force in the West, and with it to invade Mexico, wrest that country from Spain, and set up an independent government there with himself at the head, either as president or monarch. It is certain that General Wilkinson, who was in command of United States troops in the West at that time, was associated with Burr for awhile in his schemes, whatever they may have been.

In the spring of 1805, Burr departed for the West, giving deceptive reasons for his journey. He went down the Ohio River in an open boat, and on a pleasant morning in May he appeared at the charming island-home of Herman Blennerhassett, an Irish gentleman possessed of a fine education, scientific tastes, an ample fortune, and a beautiful and accomplished wife. He was seated upon an island in the Ohio River, near the mouth of the Muskingum River, not far from Marietta, where he had a beautiful and happy home, enriched with books, adorned with pictures, enlivened with music from the lips and by the skillful fingers of Mrs. Blennerhassett as she touched the harp and guitar and sang sweet airs, and made attractive to the man of science and taste by conservatories of rare plants and fine pleasure-grounds. It was the resort of persons of the best minds beyond the mountains.

Into that paradise the wily serpent crept, and repeated the story of the fall. Mrs. Blennerhassett, an ambitious woman with an enthusiastic nature, was tempted by the apple of Burr's seductive promises of wealth, power, and immortal honors, and she persuaded her husband to eat of the fruit. He placed his fortune and reputation at the disposal of that heartless demagogue, and lost both. He was driven by necessity from his lost paradise, and died in comparative poverty.

Burr, at first, gained the confidence of that stern patriot, Andrew Jackson, whom he visited at his log-dwelling at the "Hermitage," near Nashville. They corresponded for a time after Burr returned to the East in the fall of 1805, and so active were the schemer and his few partisans in the West in

1806, that a military organization was partly effected. He had overcome General Wilkinson with his wiles; and so strong was the confidence of Jackson in the integrity of Burr, that when the latter again visited the Hermitage early in the autumn of 1806, the former procured for him a public ball at Nashville, at which the tall hero, in military dress, led the little adventurer in his suit of black into the room, and introduced him to the ladies and gentlemen present. Circumstances soon afterward caused Jackson to suspect Burr's fidelity to his country, and he communicated his suspicions to Governor Claiborne at New Orleans. The national government



AARON BURR ON THE OHIO.

received similar warnings, and took measures to crush the viper in its egg. Burr's arrest was ordered, and this was accomplished in February, 1807, near Fort Stoddart, in Alabama, by Lieutenant (afterward Major-General) E. P. Gaines. Burr was taken to Richmond, in Virginia, and there tried for treason. The evidence seemed to show that his probable design was an invasion of the Mexican provinces and not a dismemberment of the Union, and he was acquitted.

With the acquisition of Louisiana, there grew up a powerful opposition to the administration, on the North and East. The idea was disseminated that the transaction was a scheme to strengthen the South, and with it the Southern Democracy, into whose hands the control of the government had fallen. In past times the prescription of disunion as a remedy for political evils had been a favorite one with that Democracy. The Opposition now approved it, or rather the very radical men of that party did. In the years

1803 and 1804, desires for a disseverance from the South were freely expressed in the States east and north of the Potomac and Susquehanna. A convention of leading Federalists to consult upon the measure, was called at Boston in 1804, to which Alexander Hamilton was invited; but his emphatic condemnation of such an unpatriotic course, only a short time before his death, disconcerted the leaders and dissipated their schemes. In the New York State Senate, in 1809, DeWitt Clinton, alluding to this act of Hamilton, said: "To his honor be it spoken, it was rejected by him with abhorrence and disdain."

At about the time when Burr conceived his schemes, trouble between Spain and the United States had occurred, and, for awhile, threatened to kindle a flame of war between the two governments. The United States had preferred a claim against Spain for indemnity for spoliations committed against the commerce of our country by Spanish cruisers under their own and the French flags. The liability on the part of those under the Spanish flag was admitted, and by an agreement negotiated in 1802, a commission to adjust the claims was authorized; but the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States, and questions growing out of that act, and claims to a portion of Florida, seemed to indicate a determination on the part of our government to take that portion of the Spanish domain by force of arms, if necessary. Spain, highly offended, refused to carry out the agreement concerning indemnity, and, for awhile, the political firmament appeared very lowering. But, as we have observed, the boundaries were amicably settled by satisfactory definitions, and the clouds passed away.

We must now look to events in Europe as the beginning of serious difficulties between our country and Great Britain, which finally led to war between them.



CHAPTER XCII.

Napoleon Emperor—England and France—British Jealousy—The Rule of 1756—Depredations on American Commerce—Non-Importation—Orders in Council and Decrees—The “Chesapeake” and “Leopard”—Action of the United States Government—Further Orders and Decrees—Destruction of Commerce—Embargo Act—Tribute to Great Britain Demanded—Opposition to the Embargo—A Duel—President Madison—The Americans Deceived—Perfidy of Napoleon—“President” and “Little Belt”—The Two Navies—Trouble with the Indians—Battle of Tippecanoe.

THE First Consul of France had procured his election to a seat on an imperial throne, in the spring of 1804; and on the 2d of December following, he appeared before the altar of the Church of Notre Dame, in Paris, where he was consecrated “The High and Mighty Napoleon the First, Emperor of the French.” In 1806 he was monarch of Italy; and his three brothers were made ruling sovereigns. Then he was upon the full tide of successful domination, and a large part of continental Europe was prostrate at his feet. England had joined the continental powers against him in 1803, in order to crush out the Democratic revolution which had occurred in France, and threatened the peace of the United Kingdom; and the British navy had almost destroyed the French power on the sea. At the same time American shipping enjoyed the privilege of free intercourse between the ports of England and France, and pursued a very profitable carrying trade which unforeseen circumstances soon destroyed.

The envious shipping-merchants of Great Britain, and her navy officers and privateersmen who could then obtain very few prizes lawfully, represented to their government that the Americans, under the guise of neutrality, were secretly aiding the French. This hint caused that government to revive in full force the “rule of 1756” concerning neutrals; and orders were secretly issued authorizing British cruisers to seize and British admiralty courts to condemn as prizes American vessels and their cargoes that might be captured by British cruisers.

The depredations by these cruisers upon American commerce were commenced under the most frivolous and absurd pretexts, and the most intense indignation was aroused throughout the United States. Memorials from merchants in all the seaboard towns and cities were presented to Congress,

in which the Democrats, with Mr. Jefferson (just re-elected) at their head, had an overwhelming majority. This and other grievances inflicted by the British government were discussed. Among them the alleged right of search which the British put forth, was paramount; and on the recommendation of the President, Congress, in the spring of 1806, passed an act prohibiting the importation into the United States of many of the more important manufactures of Great Britain, after the first of November following. In May William Pinckney was sent to London to join Mr. Monroe, the American minister there, in negotiating a treaty with the British government concerning the rights of neutrals, the impressment of seamen, and the right of search. A treaty was finally signed, but as it did not offer security to American vessels against the aggressions of British cruisers in searching for and carrying off seamen, the President would not lay it before the Senate.

A new difficulty now arose. In their anxiety to injure each other, the British and French governments ceased to respect the rights of other nations, and dealt heavy blows at the life of the commerce of the world. In this business Great Britain took the lead. On the 16th of May (1806) that government, by an order in council, declared the whole coast of Europe from the Elbe to Brest to be in a state of blockade. Napoleon retaliated by issuing a decree from Berlin on the 21st of November, in which he declared all the British islands to be in a state of blockade. This was intended as a blow against Britain's maritime supremacy, and was the beginning of the Emperor's "Continental System," designed to ruin Great Britain. The latter, by another order in council issued January, 1807, prohibited all coast trade with France. So these desperate powers played with the world's commerce in their mad efforts to injure each other. American vessels were seized by both English and French cruisers, and American commerce dwindled to a merely coast trade. Our republic lacked a competent navy to protect our commerce on the high seas; and the swarm of gun-boats (small sailing-vessels having each a cannon in the bow and stern), which Congress had authorized from time to time, were insufficient for a coast-guard.

Early in 1807, American commerce was almost swept from the sea by the operations of the "orders" and "decrees." The French had withheld the operation of the decrees for full a year, but the British cruisers had been let loose at once. This produced bitter feelings toward the government of Great Britain on the part of the Americans, and this was intensified by the haughty assertion and offensive practice of the British doctrine of the right of search for suspected deserters from the royal navy, and to carry away the suspected without hindrance. This right was claimed on the ground that a

British-born subject could never expatriate himself, and that his government might take him, wherever found, and place him in the army or navy, although, by legal process, he may have been made a citizen of another nation. This right of search and seizure had been strenuously denied and its policy strongly condemned, because American seamen might be thus forced into the British service under the false pretext that they were deserters. This had already happened. It had been proven, after thorough investigation, that since the promulgation of the British rule of 1756, many years before, nearly three hundred seamen, a greater portion of them Americans, had been taken from vessels and pressed into the British service.

A crisis now approached. A small British squadron lay in American waters near the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, watching some French frigates blockaded at Annapolis, in the spring of 1807. Three of the crew of one of the vessels, and one of another had deserted, and enlisted on board the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, lying at the Washington Navy Yard. The British minister made a formal demand for their surrender. Our government refused compliance, because it was ascertained that two of the men (one colored) were natives of the United States, and there was strong presumptive evidence that a third was, likewise. No more was said, but the commander of the British squadron took the matter into his own hands. The *Chesapeake*, on going to sea on the morning of the 22d of June (1807), bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Barron, was intercepted by the British frigate *Leopard*, whose commander hailed the commodore and informed him that he had a despatch for him. Unsuspicious of unfriendliness, the *Chesapeake* was laid to, when a British boat bearing a lieutenant came alongside. That officer was politely received by Barron, in his cabin, when the former presented a demand from the commander of the *Leopard* to allow the bearer to muster the crew of the *Chesapeake*, that he might select and carry away the alleged deserters. The demand was authorized by instructions received from Vice-Admiral Berkeley, at Halifax. Barron told the lieutenant that his crew should not be mustered, excepting by his own officers, when the latter withdrew and the *Chesapeake* moved on.

Barron, suspecting mischief, had caused his vessel to be prepared for action as far as possible. The *Leopard* followed, and her commander called out to the commodore through his trumpet: "Commodore Barron must be aware that the vice-admiral's commands must be obeyed." This was repeated. The *Chesapeake* kept on her way, when the *Leopard* sent two shots athwart her bows. These were followed by the remainder of the broadside that poured shot into the hull of the *Chesapeake*. The latter was unable to return the fire, for her guns had no priming-powder. Not a shot

could be returned; and after being severely bruised by repeated broadsides, she was surrendered to the assailant. Her crew was mustered by British officers; the deserters were carried away, and the *Chesapeake* was left to pursue her voyage or return. The "vice-admiral's command" had been obeyed. One of the deserters, who was a British subject, was hanged at Halifax, and the three Americans were spared from the gallows only on the condition that they should re-enter the British service.

The indignation of the American people was hot because of this outrage. The President issued a proclamation at the beginning of July, ordering all British armed vessels to leave the waters of the United States, and forbidding any to enter them until ample satisfaction should be given. A demand for redress was made upon the British government, when an envoy extraordinary was sent to Washington city to settle the difficulty. He was instructed to do nothing until the President's proclamation should be withdrawn. So the matter stood for more than four years, when, in 1811, the British government disavowed the act. Meanwhile Commodore Barron had been tried on a charge of neglect of duty in not being prepared for action, found guilty, and suspended from service for five years without pay or emolument.

During the year 1807, American genius and enterprise achieved a great triumph in science and art, by the successful and permanent establishment of navigation by the power of steam. This was accomplished by Robert Fulton and Chancellor Livingston. At the beginning of September, 1807, the *Clermont*, the first steamboat built by these gentlemen, made a voyage from New York to Albany, one hundred and sixty miles, in thirty-six hours, against wind and tide; and from that time until now navigation by steam, for travel and commerce, has been steadily increasing in volume and perfection, until such vessels may now be seen on every ocean and in almost every harbor of the globe, even among the ice-pack of polar seas. This was the second of the great and beneficent achievements which have distinguished American inventors during the last century. The cotton-gin, invented by Eli Whitney, was the first; an implement that can do the work of a thousand persons in cleaning cotton-wool of the seeds. That machine has been one of the most important aids in the accumulation of our national wealth.

Another heavy blow was struck at American commerce late in 1807. A British order in council issued on the 11th of November, forbade all neutral nations to trade with France or her allies, except upon the payment of a tribute to Great Britain. Napoleon retaliated by issuing a decree at Milan, in Italy, on the 17th of December, forbidding all trade with England and

her colonies; and authorizing the confiscation of any vessel found in his ports which had submitted to English search, or paid the tribute exacted. These edicts almost stopped the commercial operations of the civilized world. American foreign commerce was annihilated. The President had called Congress together at an earlier day (October 25) than usual, to consider the critical state of public affairs; and in a confidential message, he recommended that body to pass an act levying a commercial embargo. Such an



AARON BURR.

ROBERT FULTON.

R. R. LIVINGSTON.

act was passed on the 22d of December, 1807, by which all American and foreign vessels in our ports were detained and all American vessels abroad were ordered home *immediately*, that the seamen might be trained for the impending war in defence of sacred rights.

This act caused widespread distress in commercial communities, and the firmness of the government and the patriotism of the people were severely tried for more than a year, under aggravated insults by the British government which exacted tribute in a form more odious than that of the North

African robbers. In the spring of 1808, the British Parliament, with an air of condescension, passed an act permitting Americans to trade with France and her dependencies, on the condition that vessels engaged in such trade should first enter some British port, pay a transit duty, and take out a license. In other words, Great Britain said to the United States, with as much insolence as the Dey of Algiers, "Pay me tribute, and my cruisers (or corsairs) will be instructed not to plunder you."

The embargo was denounced by the opposition with great vehemence as an unwise provocative of war. Josiah Quincy, the leader of the Federalists in Congress, said in debate: "Let us once declare to the world that, before our embargo policy be abandoned, the French decrees and the British orders in council must be revoked, and we league against us whatever spirit of honor and pride exists in both those nations. . . . No nation will be easily brought to acknowledge such a dependence on another as to be made to abandon, by a withholding of intercourse, a settled line of policy." It drew from William Cullen Bryant the poet, then a lad only thirteen years of age, a sharp, satirical poem. It was called a "Terrapin policy"—the policy that would shut up the nation in its own shell—and it was caricatured as such by the pencil of Jarvis and the burin of Dr. Anderson. The wise words of Quincy were justified when he said: "A nation mistakes its relative importance and consequence in thinking that its countenance, or its intercourse, or its existence, is all important to the rest of mankind." The embargo failed to obtain from France or Great Britain the slightest acknowledgment of American rights, and it was repealed on the first day of March, 1809—three days before Mr. Jefferson left the Presidential chair to make room for James Madison, who had been elected to succeed him as chief magistrate of the republic. On the same day Congress passed an act forbidding all commercial intercourse with France and Great Britain until the "orders in council" and the "decrees" should be repealed.

In the debates on the embargo, the most violent attacks upon the administration and its supporters were sometimes indulged in, upon the floor of Congress. In this course, Barent Gardinier, of New York, was most conspicuous, making sweeping charges of corruption. His violence and abuse was such that severe personal allusion to Gardinier was elicited from Campbell of Tennessee. Gardinier challenged him to mortal combat. They met at Bladensburg, when Gardinier was severely wounded in the side, and was borne, fainting, from the field. He soon recovered; and when he reappeared in the House, he was as violent as ever.

It was at this troublous period in our history that Mr. Madison of Virginia began his administration of eight years as President of the republic,

with George Clinton of New York as Vice-President. The general aspect of national affairs then was fairly drawn (though somewhat highly-colored) in a report of a committee of the Massachusetts legislature in January, 1809, which said: "Our agriculture is discouraged; the fisheries abandoned; navigation forbidden; our commerce at home restrained, if not annihilated; our commerce abroad cut off; our navy sold, dismantled, or degraded to the service of cutters or gun-boats; the revenue extinguished; the course of justice interrupted; and the nation weakened by internal animosities and divisions, at the moment when it is unnecessarily and improvidently exposed to war with Great Britain, France, and Spain." It was believed that the new President would perpetuate the policy of Jefferson; but when, dressed in a suit of plain black cloth, he modestly pronounced his inaugural address before a multitude of eager spectators, on the 4th of March, 1809, the tone and temper of that speech fell like oil upon troubled waters. His most placable political enemies who heard him, and those who read the address, could not refrain from uttering words of approbation; and the whole nation entertained hopes that his measures might change the gloomy aspect of public affairs. He had able constitutional advisers in Robert Smith as Secretary of State; Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury; William Eustis, Secretary of War; Paul Hamilton, Secretary of the Navy, and Cæsar Rodney, Attorney-General. There was a powerful party in the nation hostile to his political creed and opposed to war with Great Britain, which then seemed to be an event in the near future.

At the beginning of his administration, Madison was assured by the British minister at Washington (Mr. Erskine) that such portions of the orders in council as affected the United States would be repealed by the 10th of June; and that a special envoy would be sent by his government to adjust all matters in dispute. Regarding these assurances as official, the event seemed like a ray of sunlight among the tempestuous clouds. The



JAMES MADISON.

President issued a proclamation on the 19th of April (1809) permitting a renewal of commercial intercourse with Great Britain from that day; but the British government disavowed Erskine's act, and in August the President, by proclamation, renewed the restrictions. This event produced intense excitement throughout our country; and had the President then proclaimed war against Great Britain, it would undoubtedly have been a popular measure.

In the spring of 1810 (March 23) Bonaparte issued a decree at Rambouillet more destructive in its consequences to American commerce than any measure yet employed. It declared forfeit every American vessel which had entered French ports since March 1, or that might thereafter enter; and authorized the sale of the same together with their cargoes, and the proceeds to be placed in the French treasury. Under this decree many American vessels were lost, for which even partial remuneration was not obtained until almost thirty years afterward. It was justified by Bonaparte by the plea that it was made in retaliation for the American decree of non-intercourse. In May following, Congress offered to resume commercial intercourse with either France or England, or both, on condition that they should repeal their obnoxious "orders" and "decrees" before the 3d of March, 1811. Napoleon, a man of expediency and not of principle, feigned compliance. He assured our government that the repeal of the decrees should take effect in November following. On this assurance the President proclaimed a resumption of commercial intercourse with France. The monarch intended to break the solemn promise at any moment when policy should so dictate. American vessels were seized by French cruisers and confiscated as freely as ever. In March, 1811, Napoleon declared the decrees of Berlin and Milan to be a part of the fundamental laws of the empire; and a new envoy sent from France gave official notice to our government, that no remuneration would be allowed for property seized and confiscated.

Great Britain not only continued her hostile orders, but sent ships-of-war to cruise off the principal ports of the United States to intercept American merchant-vessels and send them to England as lawful prizes. In this business the *Little Belt*, Captain Bingham, a British sloop-of-war, was engaged in the spring of 1811 off the coast of Virginia, where she was met on the 16th of April by the American frigate *President*, Captain Ludlow, bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Rodgers. The latter hailed the commander of the sloop, asking—"What ship is that?" and received a cannon-shot in reply. "Equally determined," said Rodgers in his report, "not to be the aggressor, or suffer the flag of my country to be insulted with impunity, I gave a general order to fire." After a very brief action, Captain

Bingham, having eleven men killed and twenty-one wounded, gave a satisfactory answer. The vessels parted company, the *Little Belt* sailing for Halifax.

The conduct of both officers, in this affair, was approved by their respective governments. That of the United States and the people regarded the conduct of Captain Bingham as an outrage without palliation; and the Americans were willing to take up arms in defence of what they regarded as right, justice, and honor. They knew the strength of the British navy and the weakness of their own, yet they were willing to accept war as an alternative for submission, and to measure strength on the ocean. At that time the British navy consisted of almost *nine hundred* vessels, with an aggregate of one hundred and forty-four thousand men. The American vessels-of-war, of large size, numbered only *twelve*, with about three hundred guns. There was a large number of gun-boats, but these, as we have observed, were scarcely sufficient for a coast-guard. For a navy so weak to defy a navy so strong, seemed like madness. We must remember, however, that the royal navy was much scattered, for that government had interests to protect in various parts of the world. It was the boast of Britons that the sun never set on the dominions of their monarch.

The administration was now sustained by a larger majority of the American people than that of Jefferson had ever been, and the Federalists, or the Opposition, were in a hopeless minority. The continued acts of aggression by the British were increasing the Democratic strength every day; and in 1811, circumstances seemed to make war with Great Britain an imperative necessity for the vindication of the honor, rights, and independence of the United States.

Circumstances had made the Indian tribes on the northwestern frontiers of the United States very uneasy, and the machinations of British traders and government emissaries had stimulated the growth of that discontent into a decided hostile feeling toward the nation of Republicans, then pressing upon the dominion of the savages. The suspension of the world's commerce had diminished the amount of their traffic in furs, and the rapid extension of American settlements northward of the Ohio was narrowing their hunting-grounds and producing a rapid diminution of game. The introduction of intoxicating liquors among them by the white people had spread demoralization widely, with consequent disease and death. These savages were made to believe that all these evils had been brought upon them by the encroachments of the Americans; and in the spring of 1811, it became evident that a league was forming among the tribes for the extermination of the frontier settlers. Tecumtha, a Shawnoese chief, crafty,

intrepid, unscrupulous and cruel, and who possessed the qualities of a great leader, endeavored to emulate Pontiac, the great Ottawa chief, in the formation of an Indian confederacy in the Northwest, for making war upon the United States. He had a shrewd twin-brother, called The Prophet, whose mysterious incantations and predictions, and pretended visions and spiritual intercourse, had inspired the savage mind with great veneration for him, as a wonderful "medicine-man." He and Tecumtha possessed almost unbounded influence over the Delawares, Shawnoese, Wyandots, Miamis, Kickapoos, Winnebagoes, and Chippewas.

So hostile had the Indians appeared in the spring of 1810, under the influence of these leaders, that General W. H. Harrison, then governor of the Territory of Indiana, invited the brothers to a council at Vincennes, in August. Tecumtha appeared with four hundred full-armed followers. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed by this demonstration of savage military power. Harrison was cool and cautious. The bearing of the chief was bold and haughty. He refused to enter the place wherein the council was to be held, saying: "Houses were built for you to hold councils in; Indians hold theirs in the open air." He then took a position under some trees in front of the house, and, unabashed by the large concourse of white people before him, he opened the business with a speech marked by great dignity and native eloquence. When he had concluded, one of the governor's aids said to him through an interpreter, as he pointed to a chair: "Your father [General Harrison] requests you to take a seat by his side." The chief drew his blanket around him, and, standing erect, said, with scornful tone: "My father! The sun is my father, and the earth is my mother; on her bosom I will recline;" and then seated himself upon the ground.

The chief had declared it to be his intention to form a confederacy for the purpose of preventing any further cession of lands to the white people, and to recover what had been ceded. "Return those lands," he said, "and Tecumtha will be the friend of the Americans. He likes not the English, who are continually setting the Indians on the Americans." The governor, in reply, told him plainly that the lands had been received from other tribes, and that the Shawnoese, his people, had no business to interfere. Tecumtha sprang to his feet, cast off his blanket, and, with violent gestures, pronounced the governor's words false. He accused the United States of cheating and imposing upon the Indians; and then giving a sign to his warriors near him, they sprang to their feet, seized their war-clubs, and brandished their tomahawks. The governor started from his chair and drew his sword, while the citizens seized any weapon or missile they could find. It was a moment of great peril to the white people. A military guard of twelve men,

under some trees a short distance off, were ordered up. A friendly Indian cocked his pistol which he had loaded secretly while Tecumtha was speaking, and would have shot the chief dead. The guard were about to fire, when Harrison, perfectly cool, restrained them, and a bloody encounter was prevented. The interpreter, whom the Indians all respected, told Tecumtha



TECUMTHA AND GENERAL HARRISON.

that he was a bad man. The council was broken up. Tecumtha expressed his regret because of the violence into which his anger had betrayed him; but Harrison perceived that war with the followers of the chief and his brother was probable, and took precautions accordingly.

In the spring of 1811 the hostile savages began to roam over the Wabash region, in small parties, plundering the white settlers and friendly Indians. Harrison sent word to Tecumtha and The Prophet that these outrages must

cease, and that he was fully prepared to defend the settlers against any number of warriors which they might assemble. Tecumtha, alarmed, went to Vincennes, where he saw seven hundred well-armed militia. He made solemn assurances of friendly feelings and intentions; and then went to the tribes of the Choctaws, Chickasaws and Creeks, in the South, and tried to get them to join him in a league against the white people. Meanwhile Governor Harrison, exercising discretion given him by his government, gathered a large force from Kentucky and elsewhere, at Vincennes, and late in September (1811) marched up the Wabash Valley toward the town of The Prophet near the junction of Tippecanoe Creek and the Wabash River. On the way he built a fort near the present town of Terre Haute, which was called Fort Harrison.

At the beginning of November, the governor and his troops encamped upon a dry oak elevation, that rises about ten feet above a surrounding wet prairie, near the junction of the Tippecanoe and Wabash, and there he was visited by The Prophet, who proposed a conference. Harrison suspected treachery, and arranged his camp with care on the afternoon of the 6th of November, to meet any sudden emergency. He ordered that each corps forming the extreme line of the camp should hold its ground, in case of an attack, until relieved. In the event of a night attack, the cavalry were to parade, dismounted, with their pistols in their belts, and act as a reserve corps. Two captains' guards of forty-two men each were detailed to defend the camp. So prepared, the whole camp excepting the sentinels and guards, were soundly sleeping at an early hour. At the same time there had been preparations made by The Prophet for treachery and murder, when the camp of the white people should be filled with sleepers. Surrounded by his dupes, The Prophet brought out his Magic Bowl. In one hand he held a torch, in the other a string of holy beans which his followers were required to touch in token of an oath, and so be made invulnerable in battle. Then he went through a long series of incantations and mystical movements, his solitary eye (for he had lost one) rolling wildly. These ended, he turned to his seven hundred warriors, told them that the time for attacking the white man had come, and holding up the string of beans reminded them of their oath which the touch of them implied. "The white men are in your power," he said. "They sleep now, and will never wake. The Great Spirit will give light to us, and darkness to the white men. Their bullets shall not harm us; your weapons shall be always fatal." Then followed war-songs and dances, until the savages, wrought up to a perfect frenzy, rushed out to attack Harrison's camp.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 7th, Harrison was just pulling on

his boots, when a single gun was fired by a sentinel. This was followed by horrid yells. The whole camp was soon aroused, to receive a murderous fire from the savages, who had crept up stealthily to the verge of the camp before they were discovered. A very sharp battle ensued, which lasted until daylight, when the Indians were driven away at the point of the bayonet and



THE PROPHET'S INCANTATIONS.

pursued into the wet prairie. In that battle of Tippecanoe, Harrison lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and eighty-eight men.

Tecumtha, who was really a great man, while his brother was a demagogue and a cheat, was absent in the South, at that time. On his return, he found all his plans frustrated by the folly of The Prophet. Vexed and mortified, he was compelled to abandon his schemes for a confederacy, but

became a firm and active friend of the British in the war that speedily ensued. His brother, The Prophet, lost caste with his people. Upon a gentle hill toward the Wabash, this demagogue stood on that dark and gloomy November morning, at a safe distance from danger, singing a war-song and performing some protracted religious mummeries. When he was told that his followers were falling before the bullets of the white men, he said, "Fight on; it will soon be as I told you." When at last the warriors of many tribes—Shawnoese, Wyandots, Kickapoos, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes, Sacs, and a few Miamis—fugitives from the battle-field, lost their faith and covered The Prophet with reproaches, he cunningly devised a lying excuse for his failure. He told them that his predictions had failed of fulfillment because, during his incantations, his wife touched the sacred vessels and broke the charm! His followers, though superstitious in the extreme, would not accept this explanation as an excuse, and they deserted him in such large numbers, that he was compelled to take refuge with a small band of Wyandots, his town having been set on fire. The foe scattered in all directions, and hid themselves where the white man could not easily follow. A poet of the time wrote:

"Sound, sound the charge! spur, spur the steed,
And swift the fugitives pursue!
'Tis vain; rein in—your utmost speed
Could not o'ertake the recreant crew.
In lowland marsh, in dell or cave,
Each Indian sought his life to save;
Whence, peering forth, with fear and ire,
He saw his Prophet's town on fire."

These events, so evidently the work of British interference, aroused the spirit of the nation, and out of New England there was a general desire for war with Great Britain. The administration, impressed with the great responsibility of such a measure, and having the entire body of the New England people in opposition, hesitated.



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